Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Nuclear Test Conducted in Semipalatinsk 18 Oct

LD1810050588 Moscow TASS in English 0458 GMT 18 Oct 88

["Urgent—USSR Detonates Underground Nuclear Device"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—The Soviet Union conducted an underground nuclear explosion with the yield of up to 20 kilotons at the Semipalatinsk test site at 6:40 Moscow time [0340 GMT] today.

The test has been carried out with a view to checking the results of research into the physics of the nuclear explosion.

The radiation situation inside and outside the test area is normal.

Elimination of U.S. Missiles Set in Arizona

LD1810092088 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Tucson, Arizona, October 18 TASS—TASS special correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports:

The process of eliminating U.S. land-based cruise missiles (LBCM) begins at the U.S. Air Force base of Davis Monthan, Arizona, today in accordance with the Soviet-US INF Treaty.

Captain Mark Beseech, a spokesman for the press relations department of the Davis Monthan Air Force Base, has said in an interview with the TASS correspondent that seven missiles and seven launchers out of 41 missiles stationed there will be destroyed on Tuesday and Wednesday.

A group of Soviet military inspectors have been invited to attend the elimination of the missiles the maximum range of which is 2,500 km. Present on the American side will be representatives of the U.S. Department of Defence and the On-Site Inspections Agency headed by its director, Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

A memorandum for the press circulated by the U.S. Department of Defence points out that the process of eliminating U.S. LBCM's will be continued in future as well.

The U.S. LBCM's, which are identical to the sea-launched cruise missiles known as Tomahawk, are batch produced at the plants of American military corporations, the General Dynamics in San Diego, California, and the McDonnel Douglas in Titusville, Florida.

The LBCM's are intended for use by the U.S. Air Force in Europe. In all, the U.S. Air Force had purchased 597 such missiles. The Pentagon data have it that about 300 nuclear warheads for them had been made as of December last year on an order placed by the U.S. Department of Energy which is in charge of the production of nuclear weapons. Two hundred and fifty-six LBCM's with 64 launchers are stationed at U.S. and NATO bases in West Germany, Britain, Belgium, and Italy. Another 21 launchers are stationed at Davis Monthan Base, Arizona.

Analysts are of the opinion that the beginning of the process of elimination of American LBCMs under the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty signifies an important step on the way to real nuclear disarmament.

Missile Destruction Begins

LD1810213588 Moscow TASS in English 2103 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Washington October 19 TASS—The destruction of U.S. ground-launched cruise missiles was started at Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in Arizona Tuesday.

The missiles are being destroyed under the Soviet-American Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.

Pentagon spokesman Dan Howard said the destruction would continue for 48 hours on end.

The missiles' bodies are being cut lengthwise with special saws.

A group of Soviet experts is watching the elimination of the missiles and launchers.

Inspectors in FRG for Launcher Destruction

LD1710164988 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn October 17 TASS—A group of ten Soviet inspectors arrived in Frankfurt on the Main today to attend the destruction of launchers for U.S. Pershing-2 missiles, which begins October 18 in keeping with the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

DPA news agency reported, quoting the U.S. command, that the destruction procedures will take place at the Pershing-2 maintenance center in Hausen, a Frankfurt suburb.

The launchers, each weighing more than 10.5 tons, will be cut into parts by dint of special gas burners and electric saws and sent to remelting as scrap metal to Hanau, West Germany.

All together, 114 launchers are to be destroyed. The Pershing-2 missiles themselves will be eliminated in U.S. territory.

Pact Defense Ministers Meet in Prague

Yazov Leaves for Meeting

PM1810150188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "To Defense Ministers Committee Session"]

[Text] On 17 October Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, left Moscow for Prague to take part in the routine session of the Warsaw Pact states' Defense Ministers Committee.

At the airport Army General D.T. Yazov was seen off by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; USSR Deputy Defense Ministers Army General I.M. Tretyak and Army General V.M. Arkhipov; Admiral of the Fleet A.I. Sorokov, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and other officials.

Among the send-off party was Lieutenant General V. Pavlich, military and air attache at the CSSR Embassy in the USSR.

Ministers Discuss Peace Initiatives

LD1810175888 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—A regular session of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states was held in Prague on October 17-18, 1988. It was chaired by the defense minister of Czechoslovakia.

The session was attended by defense ministers, the commander-in-chief and the chief of staff of the allied armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

The Committee of Defense Ministers analyzed questions connected with the activities of the allied armed forces and the realization of peace initiatives of the member states put forward at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee that was held in Warsaw in 1988, and adopted corresponding resolutions.

The session was held in a businesslike atmosphere characterized by friendship and mutual understanding.

Pact Disarmament Commission Meets in Bucharest

LD1810193088 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest October 18 TASS—The third session of a special commission of the Warsaw Treaty member states on disarmament problems on the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs was held on October 17 through 18 in Bucharest. Delegations included representatives of ministries of foreign affairs and defense ministries.

The session analyzed a situation at consultations of representatives of the Warsaw Treaty states and NATO in Vienna on working out a mandate of talks on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. Questions connected with the coming talks on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments, as well as on confidence- and security-buidlng measures in Europe were discussed with due account for the ideas and proposals put forward at the Warsaw conference of the Political Consultative Committee.

The session analyzed other measures promoting the activization of efforts in the sphere of disarmament.

Deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the allied countries held a working meeting to discuss questions connected with the implementation of resolutions of the Warsaw conference of the Political Consultative Committee.

Soviet, GDR Forces Begin Joint Exercise 17 Oct

LD1710162688 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin October 17 TASS—The Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic today began a joint exercise in this country, which involves a total of 17,700 servicemen from both sides.

The exercise aims to upgrade the troops' field training standards and practice their control and cooperation.

Acting in conformity with the document of the Stockholm conference, the GDR Government has invited observers from all the CSCE countries to attend the exercise.

CEMA Meeting Discusses Joint Projects

LD1810161788 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Prague October 18 TASS—An exchange of experience of work at the present stage of the restructuring of economic mechanisms in the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is the main subject of a meeting of the chairmen of the chambers of commerce and industry (CCI) of CMEA countries and Yugoslavia.

Possibilities for intensifying multilateral and bilateral cooperation between the CCI's and their role in support of new forms of integrational cooperation, specifically in the establishment of direct contacts between enterprises, the setting up of joint firms, and the rendering of advisory and information services will be discussed at the three-day meeting.

Gerasimov Holds 18 Oct Press Briefing

Comments on Aid to Afghanistan

LD1810133088 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has sent Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev a cable expressing gratitude for this country's contribution to the U.N. program for humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing here.

He quoted the cable as saying that the sum of 400 million roubles the Soviet Union intended to provide was so far the biggest contribution by any country to the U.N. program.

Continuing its large-scale aid to Afghanistan on a bilateral basis, Gerasimov added, the Soviet Union intended to share actively in international efforts in this field as well.

The aid would be provided through U.N. coordinator Aga Khan and was meant for all the Afghan provinces, the spokesman said.

He listed such key aspects of the aid package as free supplies of food, clothing, shoes, linen, medicaments, fabrics and school accessories from the USSR, free shipments of equipment and materials for building various economic facilities in Afghanistan in keeping with different U.N. programs, direct deliveries to Afghan provinces and cities from Soviet republics, regions and cities, and the carriage of international aid in the form of transit cargoes across Soviet territory to the border with Afghanistan to a tune of 50 million roubles.

Reviews Afghan Situation

LD1810141488 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—The situation in Afghanistan remains tense, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

He said that Abdul Shuhur Jaheddin, chairman of the council of ulemas of Herat Province, had been killed near his home in Herat. The crime had been committed exactly one month after his predecessor Nasir Ahmat had been murdered during praying in a mosque.

Most Afghan opposition groups, the spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out, have the word "Islam" in their designations. In their propaganda the leaders of the groups speak of "defence of Islam" in Afghanistan. Meanwhile the "defence of Islam" is expressed in the following figures: More than 400 mosques have been destroyed in Afghanistan since 1980 as a result of the terrorist activities of armed opposition. More than 1,000 ministers of religion have died at the hands of the so-called "upholders of Islam". Those actions of the opposition reveal its true "Islamic" visage. They kill mullahs, ulemas, and clergymen, and thereby seek to intimidate the progressive-minded members of the Islamic clergy in Afghanistan and to make them abandon support for the national reconciliation policy and participation in it.

On Visit by Brazil's Sarney

LD1810140488 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—The visit of the President of Brazil Jose Sarney to the Soviet Union evinces that the leadership of both countries have political will for the development and deepening of cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

This was stated at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. "We are confident that the meetings, conversations and negotiations the president of Brazil had with the Soviet leadership will lead to consolidation of mutual confidence and make their contribution to the development of relations between the two countries."

A conversation held by Mikhail Gorbachev and Jose Sarney in the Kremlin today passed in a friendly businesslike atmosphere, said the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The sides expressed mutual satisfaction with its results.

At their meeting held also today the foreign ministers of the two countries expressed satisfaction with the onward development of bilateral relations, particularly at a summit level, consolidation of confidence and friendship in the relations between the USSR and Brazil, said Gennadiy Gerasimov.

Comments on Cambodian Situation

LD1810154888 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—"The draft resolution of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session on the Kampuchean problem, which was worked out by the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), although it contains some new elements, on the whole takes into account far from in full measure progress attained also thanks to the efforts by the countries of Indochina and ASEAN in the Kampuchean settlement", Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

Commenting on a statement by the Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) released today, he said the Soviet side supports Vietnam's standpoint that the development of dialogue and cooperation among the countries of the region and the Kampuchean parties, and them alone, rather than confrontation can bring about a political settlement of the situation around Kampuchea. "The resolution acceptable to all parties, if prepared and adopted, would be a major step forward in settling the Kampuchean problem", Gerasimov stressed.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted furthermore that the absence of representatives of the Khmer Rouge group at a session of the working group on Kampuchea, opened in Jakarta on October 17, to which they were invited but did not send their delegation without any explanations was not an insurmountable logjam for this working group's fruitful work. In the Soviet Union they support the efforts aimed at deepening the process of unblocking the situation around Kampuchea.

Gerasimov stressed that the joint communique of the defence ministries of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the procedure for the withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea before the end of this year confirms the two countries' determination to fulfil the assumed obligations on the large-scale withdrawal from Kampuchea of Vietnamese troops in 1988 and did not leave doubts in the sincerity of their intentions on this score.

Rust Termed 'Persona Non Grata'

LD1810155788 Hamburg DPA in German 1501 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Mathias Rust, the amateur pilot from Wedel, near Hamburg, released from Soviet custody in August, is persona non grata even as a tourist in the USSR. Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, stated in Moscow today that "difficulties" would be connected with a trip to Moscow by the Kremlin pilot, even "with an airline ticket."

Gerasimov pointed out that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had reprieved Rust from serving rest of his sentence, but that the sentence still remains in force. Apart from this he had been deported from the Soviet Union. "Rust could meet with difficulties if he wanted to return," Gerasimov pointed out.

Petrovskiy Comments on Security Issues at UN

Submits Naval Data

LD1810171688 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 18 TASS—The USSR delegation at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session today took a new step meant to promote the realization of the ideas of confidence-building measures in the naval field. At a news conference at the U.N. Headquarters Vladimir Pertrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, submitted to the United Nations the data on the state of the USSR's Navy as of July 1, 1988.

We are ready to hear out with attention all considerations on ways to boost confidence at seas, the guarantees for the safety of sea lanes and the freedom of shipping, he said. What is all-important is to exchange information, compare the parties' concerns, gradually to set in motion the negotiating process. To this end, we suggest holding a multilateral meeting at the United Nations involving military experts of major powers and other parties concerned.

Petrovskiy also stated the USSR's readiness to become jointly with the United States and the People's Republic of China a guarantor of a nuclear-free zone in the Korean peninsula, which is proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. He noted that there exist favourable conditions for proclaiming the entire Southern Hemisphere a nuclear-free zone in the foreeable future.

Comments on Disarmament

LD1810200788 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 18 TASS—The USSR delegation at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session today took a new step meant to promote the realization of the ideas of confidence-building measures in the naval field. At a news conference at the U.N. Headquarters Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR made the following:

The Soviet Union attaches fundamental importance to the military dimension of ensuring comprehensive security. Disarmament is, of course, not the only self-sufficient component of building a secure world. It emerges from a multifaceted process of many layers requiring parallel movement in all directions without exception. However, disarmament has a special role to play in that process since the state of affairs in the military sphere of security largely determines the situation in other areas and paves the way to mutually assured survival and prosperity of mankind.

The work of the current session of the General Assembly is taking place in an environment that is unusually favourable for discussing the entire range of issues pertaining to disarmament. Positive trends generated by new political thinking and the awareness of the need and feasibility of ensuring security through disarmament put on the flesh of substance in world politics and in the activities of the United Nations, which is its most important component element. A shift of focus from confrontation to dialogue, the start of genuine disarmament and settlement of regional conflicts, an emerging understanding that nations share one destiny and face

common objectives, recognition of the fact that universal values supersede ideological differences and incompatiblity of social systems are manifestation of these trends.

The main task in the military sphere of international security now is to ensure that the process of disarmament advances, does not malfunction or slacken pace, to work to expand its scope and to make it deeper. This process should gain momentum and, over time, become irreversible, encompassing all types of arms and areas of the globe. An objective base for this exists. In the first place, the starting point of this process—the INF Treaty—already required efforts going beyond the framework of classical bilateralism. Secondly, the very nature of the U.N. activities, including in the sphere of disarmament, assumes internationalization of actions.

The third special U.N. General Assembly session on disarmament also objectively suggests the conclusions in favour of intensifying multilateral efforts. Even though that forum failed to adopt a final document on the basis of consensus, a productive and non-confrontational dialogue took place that set a clear long-term agenda for the U.N. General Assembly, the conference on disarmament and the disarmament committee, that enriched the stock of constructive ideas concerning the entire range of limiting and reducing military arsenals and demanding urgent solutions.

The Soviet Union has come to the current session with new ideas, too. We favour establishing at the United Nations an arms supplies and sales register. The Soviet Union is prepared to participate in elaborating the parameters of this mechanism. We can also accept another option, as proposed by Italy, namely elaborating code of conduct of suppliers and buyers of arms. Through joint efforts, states should resolutely combat illegal supplies of conventional weapons in the international black market, which is a dangerous phenomenon.

For the first time the USSR submitted to the United Nations data on its Navy. This is what it looks as July 1, 1988:
Aircraft carrying ships 4
Submarines 376
Cruisers, destroyers, 96
Missile frigates [no number as received]
Escort (frigates) and small ASW ships 174
Craft and mine sweepers 613
Landing ships and craft 107
Total number of combatant ships 1,380
Combat aircraft and helicopters 1,142
Marines (thousand troops) 12.6

The Soviet Union would be prepared to become, together with the United States and the People's Republic of China, a guarantor of the nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula, proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We share the view that today, taking into account the Tlaltelulco and Rarotonga treaties that have already entered into force, the declaration on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Africa, the process of creating zones of peace and cooperation in southern Atlantic as well as zones of peace in the Indian Ocean, favourable conditions emerge for declaring the entire Southern Hemisphere such a zone in a foreseeable future.

We want to develop and actively utilize peaceful alternatives to the present devouring by the arms race of natural, technical and human resources. Thus, for instance, we are in favour of the alternative of the broad international cooperation in peaceful exploration of outer space free of arms. Setting up a world space organization [WSO] would promote comprehensive solutions in this area. What is important is that right now we focus our attention on promising directions and specific projects that can be implemented through joint efforts and, in the long run, coordinated in the framework of the WSO.

Here is another example. The prospect of imminent elimination of chemical weapons and the very industrial base for their production highlights the question of developing international cooperation to use scientific and technological achievements for peaceful purposes. In specific terms, the Soviet Union programmes of cooperation in basic and applied chemistry and chemical technology.

A word is in order on a distinguishing feature of the Soviet proposals, namely: a thoughtful and favourable attitude to suggestions and concerns of our partners in the dialogue at the United Nations. Thus, for instance, we find realistic the proposal by India and some other countries to set up a group on assessments and forecasts in the area of new technology under the U.N. secretary-general, whose task would be to determine and monitor the R & D that may have military application and to assess their possible implications for international security.

In line with our basic position, we have declared that we regard positively the proposal to convene a conference of states parties to the 1925 Geneva protocol. We believe that this conference would facilitate an early conclusion of the work on the convention to ban chemical weapons.

In our turn we expect that our partners in the dialogue will be able to abandon the "reflex rejection of ideas" of the other side, and would be receptive to its considerations and concerns. Up to now the arms race has followed the pattern: action—counteraction. Today, when its dismantlement has gotten underway, an entirely new principle is emerging: action—joint action—interaction. The Soviet Union is prepared to apply this principle in practice and hopes that it will become the common heritage of the United Nations.

Further on Disarmament Issues

LD1810222888 Moscow TASS in English 2145 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 18 TASS—The USSR delegation at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session laid down a detailed programme for enhancing the role of multilateral mechanisms in the military sphere of comprehensive security.

The USSR and the United States happened to be trail blazers in nuclear disarmament, Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, said in the first committee of the General Assembly today.

Although only Soviet and American nuclear armaments are liquidated, not only their security is enhanced as a result of this move but the security of all states as well. The collective reason of the entire community of states, its persistent call to begin genuine nuclear disarmament was embodied in the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. But the cause of nuclear disarmament should be common also in terms of its direct participants. All states want and can make their contribution to expediting the movement to a world free of nuclear weapons.

The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is an important direction in pushing ahead nuclear disarmament, which calls for multilateral efforts, the Soviet representative said. The resourceful and productive nature of the multilateral efforts to strengthen this regime, to achieve nuclear-free security is forcefully manifest in the appearance on the world map of the first nuclear weapon-free zones and in the mounting movement for creating such zones.

We are fully prepared for eliminating within the shortest possible timescale our status of a nuclear power and the "nuclear club" as a whole. But as we have this status for the present, we are prepared for drastically limiting it, for giving respective guarantees to the participating states in nuclear zones. We would be prepared, in part, to become together with the United States and the People's Republic of China a guarantor of a nuclear-free zone in the Korean peninsula, which is proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

We share the view that with account of the already operating Tlaltelulco and Rarotonga treaties, the declaration on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Africa, the process of setting up zones of peace and cooperation in South Atlantic, and also a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, favourable conditions are being formed for proclaiming the entire southern Hemisphere such a zone in the foreseeable future.

The combination of unilateral, bilateral, tripartite, and multilateral efforts, which embodies genuine internationalism in action, is necessary also for solving the problem of banning nuclear weapon tests. The Soviet Union remains to be an advocate of a radical solution—immediate and comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon test blasts. Mindful of the positions of other nuclear powers, above all the United States, the USSR does not rule out an opportunity of state-by-stage cessation of nuclear tests. We regard bilateral negotiations on nuclear testing as part of the general, international process, of which the beginning of the negotiating work at the Geneva conference on disarmament is meant to become an organic part.

Precluding the chance of the arms race reaching into space is an indispensable condition for movement toward a nuclear-free world. The global importance of this problem urgently calls for an in-depth and substantive dialogue at the conference on disarmament. Peaceful space is not only space free of weapons. It is space open to broad international cooperation in conquering it in mankind's interests. The setting up of a world space organisation would help achieve comprehensive solutions in this field.

The Soviet Union proposes creating a center for international cooperation in peaceful uses of space on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar and including it in a world space organisation system. This is our specific answer to West's concern over the Krasnoyarsk station. But our concern over the building of American radar stations in Greenland and Britain remains. In the opinion of specialists, they are a direct violation of the ABM Treaty.

Chemical weapons are now in the focus of multilateral disarmament, Petrovskiy said furthermore. The opportunity for an early conclusion of a universal and verifiable convention on a total ban and liquidation of chemical weapons is coming into view. The prospect of a further spread of chemical weapons and their use also imparts an urgent nature and need for a victorious finishing step at the negotiations, for an effective and verifiable ban on chemical weapons.

The internationalization of the disarmament process can be manifest in full measure in reducing conventional armaments and armed forces. The forefront for specific actions in this direction is Europe. The Warsaw Treaty member states put forward at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee a detailed programme for negotiations on a drastic reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. We firmly believe that a sound foundation exists now for the speediest conclusion of the work in Vienna to elaborate a mandate for the talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, for opening such talks before the end of the current year.

A separate major theme for a productive dialogue is the proposal for setting up a European center for reducing the military danger and preventing a surprise attack, making it a place of cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. A gradual spread of movement in the process of reducing conventional armaments from the

European Continent to other regions could begin with the assertion of the idea of the possible ensurance of security on the principles of reasonable sufficiency of military potentials.

The thorny and very complex problem of curbing the sale and shipment of conventional armaments and the non-proliferation of their most destructive types and systems is the point of intersection of global and regional efforts in conventional disarmament. Creating in the United Nations a register of weapons deliveries and sales could signal a first step here. The Soviet Union is ready to take part in elaborating the parameters of such a mechanism. Another variant, as Italy proposed it, working out a code of conduct for weapons suppliers and recipients. [sentence as received] Such a dangerous phenomenon as illegal shipments of conventional weapons on the international "black market" should also be wed out by the concerted efforts of states.

With nuclear disarmament getting under way, the problem of conventional armaments and armed forces, including naval armaments, takes on added importance. The naval component of states' military might cannot be taken out of the general efforts on disarmament. The logical first step is confidence-building measures in the naval field. In this connection, Petrovskiy officially presented to the United Nations the data on the state of the USSR's Navy as of July 1, 1988. We are ready to hear out with attention all proposals for ways to boost confidence at seas, guarantees for the safety of sea lanes and the freedom of shipping, Petrovskiy said.

Special mention should be made of the questions of trust, verification and openness in the military field. Without them real disarmament and the strengthening of peoples' security are just impossible.

The assertion of the atmosphere of confidence based simultaneously on openness and effective and intrusive verification can create optimum conditions for a multilateral solution of such a complex problem as curbing the use of advances in science and technology for military purposes.

The Soviet Union would be ready to participate in an international fund, "disarmament for development", to turn through it part of the funds released as a result of measures for disarmament to developing countries.

In the nuclear-space age when the cost of errors in bi [as received] politics is catastrophically high, the presence and influence in this politics of the world public assumes particular importance, the Soviet representative stressed. This is a sign of our time for which real involvement of people themselves in international affairs becomes more and more typical. The United Nations' close interaction with the international public is the imperative of the age, a condition of genuine democratization and multilateral nature of efforts.

Petrovskiy Gives Impressions of UN Session

PM1810152788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister and deputy leader of the Soviet delegation at the UN General Assembly, by own correspondent A. Shalnev in New York: "V. Petrovskiy: The Mood of the Delegates Has Changed: What the General Discussion at the 43d UN General Assembly Session Showed"; date not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] New York—The general political discussion has ended at the 43d UN General Assembly session. Leaders of most of the delegations—presidents, prime ministers, and foreign ministers—made statements which may be regarded as policy statements. The course of the discussion and its results, albeit preliminary, were the theme of my conversation with V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister and deputy leader of the Soviet delegation.

"Our diplomacy has a dual purpose," he said. "On the one hand, to ensure the introduction at the United Nations of the ideas of the new political thinking, which are oriented toward the solution of all current international problems by political means and by the efforts of each and every person. On the other hand, the aim is to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations. Two years ago the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries proposed that a dialogue be held at the United Nations on questions of shaping an all-embracing security system. Now it can be said that the dialogue has on the whole proved highly useful. Even though the dialogue has not managed to arrive at the truth, it has provided an opportunity to find ways to approach it. One very important point is that it has clarified which problems most worry the UN member states. There are three problems: the establishment of the primacy of law in international relations, the enhancement of the role of the main UN organs, and finally the enhancement of the role of the United Nations' peace-keeping operations."

[Shalnev] As soon as you mentioned the all-embracing system of peace and security a question came to mind. The resolution adopted on this problem at the last General Assembly session was achieved with great effort, to put it mildly. Many doubts were expressed, including some which sounded quite effective as propaganda. For example: Why do we need such a system when there already exists a UN mechanism which performs similar functions? Can you explain in specific terms what is new about our proposal?

[Petrovskiy] You are right, the debate was difficult. But I see nothing extraordinary in that. The birth of something new is difficult, especially in the conditions of the United Nations, where during the cold war years the stereotype of the confrontational approach emerged: Whatever one side proposed, the other side automatically rejected, and furthermore states did not even bother to look at what was behind particular proposals.

The same thing happened to the socialist countries' initiative. In a refined form, this initiative represented the ideas of the new political thinking, ideas which originated with the Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein manifesto and were subsequently reflected in the work of the Palme Commission. The novelty of our approach was that we proposed taking these ideas, formulated in an intellectual environment by outstanding scientists, translating them into the language of official state policy, and using them as a guideline in UN activity. But the response was an immediate and automatic rejection.

[Shalnev] Excuse me, but do we not seek to respond in a similar way to the other side's proposals, for example, those of the United States?

[Petrovskiy] Such phenomena did exist at the time restructuring began in our diplomatic work at the Foreign Ministry. It was sometimes hard to respond to the other side's proposals. True, we were in a privileged position, so to speak, because the other side did not submit very many proposals at the United Nations. But the phenomena existed; there was caution toward the other side's proposals. But I believe we have now fully overcome this. We take proposals at their face value, if I may put it that way, and view them on their actual substance.

[Shalnev] Which of the proposals submitted at the current session have caught our attention?

[Petrovskiy] Our very great attention has been drawn by a number of proposals, from India for example, to develop the program put forward by Rajiv Gandhi on the creation of global security and the destruction of all nuclear weapons by the year 2010 and in particular the proposal not to use new technology to create new types of armaments. Many interesting proposals have been submitted by the developing countries on a range of ecological problems. Nigeria, for instance, proposed the examination of the issue of the struggle against the spread of toxic and radioactive materials. Malta raised an interesting question on the influence of the climate on the state of the world's environment. We immediately responded positively to the Western countries' proposal to hold a conference on the observance of the 1925 Geneva protocol on chemical weapons. We support such a proposal on condition that this conference does not overshadow but is instead an important stimulus to the earliest conclusion of a convention on banning chemical weapons.

[Shalnev] While observing the progress of the General Assembly session, I could not help noticing that the conference hall was very often only half full whereas there were lively discussions going on behind the scenes, in the corridors. The impression you get is that it is there, in the corridors, that all the main questions are decided—as was the case, for example, with the well known resolution on the Iran-Iraq conflict and many other situations. The question is: What practical purpose is there in holding the General Assembly session?

[Petrovskiy] A great purpose. The delegations attend the session with the aim of stating their positions and at the same time using the opportunities which the session offers for holding bilateral or multilateral meetings, consultations, and so forth. Statements at the plenary sessions are very important because they offer states an opportunity to set out their position and enshrine it in UN documents. As for the question of the delegates' attendance, it must be borne in mind that with the possible exception of the Soviet Union and the United States, the other delegations sometimes do not have the physical capacity to attend all UN organs in full force: After all, bilateral and multilateral meetings take place in parallel with the General Assembly session and there are six committees at work. Many delegations have to split up to keep up with what is going on. And the discussions and contacts behind the scenes are also extremely important. This is convenient. To hold consultations or talks with another country one usually has to travel to that country, which takes at least 3 and sometimes 4 days. But here it is possible to hold five, six, or more on-the-spot meetings in a single day with the representatives of the most diverse countries—and this does happen. This is yet further proof of how useful the United Nations is.

[Shalnev] What problems do you see at the present session?

[Petrovskiy] There are problems, very many of them. For example, the United Nations must pay very considerable attention to the way conflict and crisis situations are shaping up. On Afghanistan, for instance, it is the case that although the Soviet Union has kept its part of the bargain—it withdrew 50 percent of its military contingent by 15 August—the other side, Pakistan, is not fulfilling its commitments. The task facing the United Nations and the mechanism created especially to observe the fulfillment of the agreements is to ensure their strict implementation. There is also the question of actively involving the UN mechanism in settling conflict situations in other regions. But the question is: What about the money to pay for these operations?

[Shalnev] You have met and are still meeting with very many delegates. How would you rate the atmosphere at the present session?

[Petrovskiy] The delegates' mood is considerably different from how it was before. At the last session the hope of a renewal of international relations appeared. But that was only a hope, at times just a timid hope. At the current session there is the confidence that it is possible to change international relations for the better and to transform the international community into one which is organized democratically. Here is an interesting fact: Two trends are emerging—on the one hand, among the delegates, one senses an increased interest in multilateralism, in what we now call the new internationalism. And on the other hand—herein lies the dialectic—the trend toward multilateralism simultaneously intensifies the activeness of each state. All states, regardless of their

political orientation or size, try to submit constructive ideas and proposals so that the international community gets down to practical work. It is this move from words to deeds which is very keenly sensed at the present session.

Asia-Pacific Security Conference Opens

LD1810094088 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Pyongyang October 18 TASS—An international conference, "For Nuclear-Free Korean Peninsula, for Peace and Security in the Asia-Pacific Region", opened in the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today.

Representatives of the public from over 30 countries, including the Soviet Union and a number of international organisations, are attending the forum, held on the initiative of the World Peace Council.

The improvement of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region is essential for accelerating the process of relaxation of international tension and for ensuring durable world peace, says a message of greetings addressed to the participants in the conference by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, DPRK President Kim Il-Song.

The proposals of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and also a number of other non-aligned states, provide a good foundation for pooling the efforts of the governments and peoples to further these goals, Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council, said in his speech at the opening of the conference.

The conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty on elimination of a whole class of nuclear weapons and the Delhi declaration on the principles of a nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world, the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan evince a new approach to questions of ensuring peace, he said.

Army Paper on United European Defense

PM1810084688 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

["Military-Political Review" by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Vasiliy Pustov: "Europe: Unity or Disunity?"]

[Text] October has become a month of particularly active contacts between statesmen of the Soviet Union and other European countries. This week USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze visited France, and USSR Defense Minister D.T. Yazov visited Bulgaria. Austrian Federal Chancellor F. Vranitzky was in Moscow on an official visit. The trip to our country by Italian Prime Minister C. de Mita ends today. A visit to the USSR by FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl is still to come.

All the talks and their results are covered in detail in the press. Therefore I will confine myself to mentioning that along with the further development of bilateral relations and mutually advantageous cooperation, also at the center of attention for the participants in the meetings were questions of world and European politics, topical problems of the present-day international situation, and an analysis of positive or other trends in world development. A detailed discussion is under way on the future of Europe and measures to strengthen security on the continent.

Once again the USSR is providing concrete evidence that the European avenue is one of the basic paths of its foreign policy. Europe's role in international development is truly unique. It is a region with vast economic, scientific, and technical potential, the focus of very rich experience in the conduct of international affairs.

It must not be forgotten, however, that it was in Europe that both world wars were unleashed by the forces of aggression. Then there was the "cold war" against the USSR and the other socialist countries. Although the peoples of Europe have lived for more than 40 years without any "hot wars," in the conditions of peace, our continent is still divided into the two most powerful military alliances, confronting each other—the Warsaw Pact and NATO. They have armed forces with a combined strength on the order of 7.2-7.5 million men and are equipped with ever improving combat hardware, including nuclear means of destruction. Metaphorically speaking, the European Continent is no longer merely a powder keg, but a nuclear powder keg.

The Warsaw Pact has repeatedly proposed disbanding the two military blocs or, to begin with, their military organizations. The West will not accept this. In fact, it is adopting measures aimed at improving NATO's military might in two areas: the "modernization" of weapons, and the stepping up of military efforts by the European participants in the militarist alliance.

The "modernization" of NATO weapons is sometimes referred to at the bloc's headquarters, strange as it may sound, as "countermeasures" which, they say, have to be taken in connection with the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles under the Soviet-American treaty. To this end it is proposed first of all to replace "Lance" nuclear missiles, with a range of 60-120 km, with others that are more accurate and have a range of some 500 km. Moreover it is planned to increase the offensive potential of strike aircraft by equipping the planes with "air-to-surface" missiles with a range of more than 300 km. This question, according to AFP, is being discussed animatedly by representatives of London, Paris, and Washington. As for nuclear artillery, they intend to reduce this somewhat because of the insufficient firing range (up to 30 km).

In recent weeks military cooperation between the FRG and Britain has been stepped up markedly. At recent talks between the two countries' defense ministers, it was decided to increase the number of joint exercises and the exchange of servicemen, to expand cooperation in the production and purchase of weapons and military hardware, and to this end to set up an Anglo-West German working party.

For all that, the British representative showed no interest in his Bonn colleague's proposal to create a joint brigade on the model of the Franco-West German brigade, whose staff began work officially at the beginning of this month. London thereby demonstrated its cautious attitude in general to the Franco-West German rapprochement, believing that West European military policy should be implemented first and foremost within the framework of the NATO bloc. Incidentally, in the FRG itself criticism of the widening of the country's military cooperation, not only with France but also with Britain, is increasing. As the Green Party stresses, West German politicians' statements about their desire for peace and disarmament become less convincing when, against the background of the numerous peace proposals by the Warsaw Pact countries, the FRG is stepping up its military cooperation with European powers that have nuclear arsenals. Especially since there have been more than enough instances of this, including the recent remarks by Defense Minister R. Scholz in favor of the modernization of both nuclear and conventional weapons by NATO. These have what I would call a sinister meaning, especially combined with his appeals not to do away with the "enemy image." It must be clear to everyone that this image is necessary to those who are not inclined to eliminate tension and confrontation.

As events develop on the European Continent, they are not isolated from other regions of the world, especially America. Here it is not only a question of military-political cooperation in NATO's command bodies; Washington also exerts pressure through its high-ranking envoys, who are regularly dispatched to the West European capitals. Thus the purpose of the recent trip by U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary W. Taft to the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, and Luxembourg was to seek a redistribution of the military and financial burden within the bloc. He demanded an increase in their military spending and other efforts aimed at further increasing NATO's might.

In some things he was probably very successful. Thus in the course of the talks in Belgium an accord was reached that after the withdrawal of American cruise missiles from the base at Florennes, the base would continue to be used for military purposes.

However, the European allies do not show readiness to be led by the senior partner in everything. They stress that they are already maintaining record armed forces for peacetime, a total of 3.5 million men. The West Europeans also demand that account be taken of the major expenditure they bear by regularly holding large NATO military exercises on their territory. Even now the very large, multifaceted "Autumn Forge-88" maneuvers are in progress, involving hundreds of thousands of men and a vast quantity of combat hardware and entailing, among other things, serious incidents involving human fatalities.

Something else that does not go unnoticed is the political, economic, social, and moral anomaly of the continuing foreign military presence and the maintenance of foreign military bases on other countries' territory, against which, incidentally, the Soviet Union comes out resolutely. In proposing that all troops abroad return home, the USSR takes account of the interests of strengthening a peace based on mutual trust, as well as the peoples' just demands. The mass protests against U.S. military bases in the countries of southern Europe are well known. Now, as London's THE TIMES reports, tension is also arising in America-West German relations over the permanent presence of American troops in the FRG. The 4 million-strong military contingent from across the ocean (with thousands of units of nuclear munitions) are described by West Germans, the newspaper says, as the forces of an "occupying power." And this at a time when even people like Defense Minister R. Scholz have been forced to admit that the Warsaw Pact "has no interest in war," and the FRG population no longer feels that a direct threat to peace exists.

A sober view of the foreign policy of the USSR and its allies, stripped of the former hostile stereotypes, is becoming increasingly widespread also in other West European countries and far beyond the bounds of Western Europe. Although Western propaganda admits this, it continues, contrary to logic, to talk stubbornly about the mythical "Soviet expansionism." The threadbare propaganda bugaboo is used with a view to West European political and military integration, although, it is true, it is no longer used so sweepingly.

In order to implement the old idea of the "Europeanists," the analysis of trends in Western economic and political development is now being brought to the fore. As the FINANCIAL TIMES, the newspaper of British financial and business circles, notes, with these trends relations between the United States and its European allies could change radically in the next decade or two, as the Americans begin to adapt to the steady loss of their dominant positions in the world economy. The United States has already changed from the world's biggest creditor to the biggest debtor, which cannot fail to affect its ability to finance its military presence in Eruope. On the other hand, the growing interdependence of the economies of the United States and Japan and other East and Southeast Asian countries could result in a reorientation of Washington's geopolitical priorities away from Western Europe. Therefore the newspaper advises Europe's U.S. allies to "learn to walk without American crutches," in good time and to this end to "give more thought to a single European defense organization."

The subject of "Eurodefense" is being discussed widely in the West. Bonn, for instance, is again putting forward the proposal to create a "European army" in the future, which would inevitably lead not to the unity, but to the further disunity of the continent. In order to justify these dangerous ideas, the meaning and aims of the new political thinking in world affairs put forward by the Soviet leadership are given a distorted interpretation. The arguments of the influential K.-F. Lamers, a Bundestag deputy from the Christian Democratic Union-/Christian Social Union, are highly characteristic in this respect. He is not opposed to cooperation between West European countries and the socialist countries, but he also calls for the political and military integration of Western Europe as a "counterweight" to the Soviet Union. Why? Because, Lamers says, as a result of restructuring the USSR's might and magnetic power will increase. Strange logic...

The Soviet Union's European policy and the idea of a common Eruopean home, which is meeting with support, are founded on unfailing respect for the national sovereignty of all countries, the existing political and territorial realities in Europe, and the social choice made by any given people. Only on this basis is it possible to put an end to the NATO-Warsaw Pact military confrontation, embark on a radical reduction in armed forces and conventional arms, continue the nuclear disarmament process, and achieve reliable, equal security on the continent. There is a growing awareness in the West European countries that the realization of this prospect requires an independent policy that accords with vital national interests, not the support of "crutches" from across the ocean, which places them in a dependent position. And not militarization under the banner of "Eurodefense," but fruitful talks between the countreis of the two military alliances.

Customs Official on Cooperation in Drugs War

PM1710091588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with V.K. Boyarov, first deputy chief of the USSR Council of Ministers State Customs Inspection Main Administration, by V. Chebakov: "Operation 'Diplomat,' or How the Struggle Against the International Drugs Mafia Is Being Waged"; date, place not given; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] As a result of a joint operation carried out by the Soviet and British customs services, 3.5 tonnes of hashish worth more than 10 million pounds has been removed from the international smuggling mafia circuit. Five criminals have been arrested. Accessories to the crime are still being investigated. This operation codenamed "Diplomat" began at the Moscow customs house and ended in the British port of Tilbury.

This is yet another example of the growing cooperation between various countries in the struggle against the "white death." Every year the Soviet customs service' contacts and joint operations stand in the path of the drugs mafia that has for many years used Soviet territory for the transit of smuggled narcotics. The "IPEC-88" international police exhibition-conference was held in London recently. Representatives of Soviet customs organs took part in its work. V.K. Boyarov, first deputy chief of the USSR Council of Ministers State Customs Inspection Main Administration, delivered a report which met with great interest.

[Chebakov] Vitaliy Konstantinovich, what problems did the conference discuss primarily?

[Boyarov] It was the first time we had taken part in this kind of event. It was mainly a question of combating narcotics. The illegal turnover of drugs worldwide has reached gigantic proportions and is embracing more and more countries, elevating the problem of drug addiction to the status of a global problem. Unfortunately, successes in some regions are nullified by an increase in illegal shipments in others. In this connection an all-embracing interdisciplinary plan was adopted in Vienna a year ago which expressed the will of 138 states, including ours, to pool their efforts to combat drug addiction.

[Chebakov] What contribution is our country making to the international community's struggle against drug addiction?

[Boyarov] Last year we entered the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control; we advocate an increase in appropriations for improving drugs controls; and we are actively developing bilateral cooperation with many states.

We are first and foremost combating drug addiction in our own country. According to MVD data, more than 130,000 people, of whom more than 51,000 are drug addicts, use drugs in our country. Although in comparison with the size of the population these figures represent a small percentage and cannot by any means be compared with a number of other countries "afflicted by drug addiction," we regard this as an acute problem. Last year we adopted a law whereby criminal proceedings are instituted against people who illegally sow opium poppies and individual varieties of hemp, and who deal in drugs. People who voluntarily hand over narcotics substances are discharged. A number of ministries and departments are combating drug addiction; extensive use is being made of the capacities of public organizations, and they are being assigned an important role.

Today our customs organs have been given a crucial task—that of reliably preventing drugs from infiltrating the USSR. At the same time we are convinced that this task cannot be resolved without actively consolidating international ties with a view to combating illegal circulation of drugs. At present the as yet isolated attempts to bring drugs into the Soviet Union are not very alarming, but Soviet law enforcement organs and, in particular, customs organs, realize that there are a number of

objective factors which may cause the situation to deteriorate. First, the stream of foreign citizens visiting our country as tourists or on business has increased, as has the number of Soviet citizens traveling abroad. Second, there is a raw material base in our country for producing drugs from wild hemp and opium poppies, the sowing of which is banned but which nevertheless still goes on. Third, the international drugs mafia, which has not yet opened up the Soviet market, may attempt to do just that. This must not be allowed.

[Chebakov] The foreign press has described the transport of drugs through our country as the "Red road for the 'white death'...."

[Boyarov] Well, things have not reached the point where there is a "road." We detect and close down the "byways." But it's no easy job. On the one hand, there is a great deal of highly intensive transit traffic across our border; and on the other, we lack the modern technical systems that would enable us to ease the inspection procedure and enhance its speed and efficiency. Lastly, a number of Western countries have recently relaxed their customs inspection system for people and shipments coming from the USSR.

Having studied all sides of the question, we have elaborated our own technology for the detection and examination of shipments and passengers on drug routes. The cadre and material-technical base of customs houses was reinforced in order to introduce this technology, primarily at those customs houses through which smuggled narcotics can pass.

More than 1,200 kg of Pakistani hashish was detected in November 1986 during an examination of a container truck carrying raisins from Afghanistan to the FRG. This was our first experience of seizing such a large narcotics consignment, and during the investigation process it did not prove possible to establish who was involved in the smuggling since we had to confine ourselves solely to USSR territory. We were forced to confine ourselves to a press report about the drugs haul, and the hashish itself was burned in public at a firefighting test range near Moscow.

When an analogous shipment from Afghanistan to the Netherlands was once again found to be carrying more than 1 tonne of hashish at the beginning of last year, we decided to organize cooperation with the appropriate Netherlands services. Representatives of the Netherlands police came to our country and we agreed, following an official request from the Netherlands Government, to hand over the narcotics and send the container truck carrying the narcotics on to Rotterdam. On its arrival in Rotterdam, at the recipient's request, the consignment was then moved on to Belgium to Antwerp. There we waited for the "owners" but no one claimed the shipment.

[Chebakov] Could you please give us a few more details about the last operation—the third to date—operation "Diplomat."

[Boyarov] The contraband drugs shipment was discovered in sacks of licorice in two container trucks en route from Afghanistan through the USSR for subsequent shipping from Leningrad to Tilbury. All the indications point to the goods having come from Pakistan.

Following our report, British customs workers came to Moscow and we coordinated a joint operations plan with them. The vessel "Baltic Osprey" trailed the consignment under observation into the British port where the contraband was secretly removed from the container trucks. Monitored by the British customs service, the recipients moved the consignment to an industrial warehouse at the abandoned U.S. Air Force base at Burtonwood, Warrington. It was here that the criminal route was stopped.

[Chebakov] What happened next?

[Boyarov] It would be premature yet to talk details. We can talk about them a little later when the operation is fully completed. We are glad that our initiative and the joint work with our partners from Western countries has shown that the USSR is ready and able to act rather than just talk about taking part in the humane process of combating the drugs business.

[Chebakov] Are individuals transporting modest quantities of narcotics?

[Boyarov] The overall quantity of the "consignments" that we seize is small, an average of approximately 30-40 kg per year. But in the first 6 months of this year more than 40 kg was seized. This comprises heroin, morphine, marijuana, hashish, amphetamines, barbiturates, and as of last year—cocaine.

Extremely sophisticated and reliable hiding places are used for carrying narcotics. Nevertheless virtually all major consignments have been detected during x-ray checks of the carriers' baggage and—this is very important—in many cases without their knowledge.

We have set ourselves the task of setting up an integral system for monitoring all possible channels for moving drugs, including sea, car, railroad passenger transport, and international mail services. You can't get by without international cooperation here. The activity of international organizations operating under the auspices of the United Nations and other specialized organizations has become more productive. Close contacts have been established with the Customs Cooperation Council.

Cooperation is developing between socialist countries' customs administrations. In September a program was signed for joint actions to combat drug smuggling through the year 2000. We appreciate the initiative from

the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, which invited Soviet representatives to a regional seminar in May in Hungary in which delegates from 17 countries took part. There is also a proposal to organize a seminar for the countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

[Chebakov] So everything is going well for you in this sphere?

[Boyarov] Not everything. The development of multilateral and regional ties has at the same time revealed shortcomings in the current cooperation system. This cooperation still does not satisfy us. Individual operations are good, but we are endeavoring to boost cooperation to a qualitatively new level. Until now—owing to the difference in political systems, which cannot fail to be taken into consideration—international organizations combating illegal drug trafficking have failed to elaborate a mechanism for multilateral cooperation and legal support for it. In particular, Soviet law enforcement organs should elaborate the kind of legal base that would help our country fulfill our international obligations by concluding agreements. That is why we now see the way out as lying in cooperation on a bilateral basis: Given such relations, acceptable areas and forms of cooperation can be found more easily and more rapidly.

The Memorandum on Mutual Understanding Between the Governments of the USSR and Britain was signed in February 1988. This document determined the principles for cooperation in the struggle against illegal narcotics trafficking. A memorandum was then signed in September between the Soviet and British customs services. An accord has been reached to put relations with the Swedish, French, and U.S. customs administrations on a legal footing.

However, we realize that the elaboration of any legal document takes time. That is why we are beginning cooperation by organizing stable ties, which should ultimately be enshrined in laws. We have such ties with the corresponding administrations in a dozen various countries.

Having elaborated an effective bilateral mechanism for cooperation, steps can be taken to create an effective multilateral mechanism.

The narcotics business has gone beyond the framework of national borders and it can only be combated together.

United States & Canada

Moscow To Receive Western-Equipped Print Shops

PM1710134388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent V. Sukhoy under the rubric "Meridians of Cooperation": "A Copy—in a Minute"]

[Text] New York, 11 Oct— "Do you want to know how we responded to the publication in PRAVDA and what came of it?" the voice on the telephone sounded ingratiating and somewhat enigmatic. "This is quite serious. On behalf of the Alphagraphics Company I am sending an invitation for you to attend a news conference on the occasion of the signing of an agreement to create a joint enterprise."

Before the news conference began I was handed English translations of articles entitled "Impoverished Complex" and "Minister Will Be Coming...," written by my PRAVDA colleague O. Mikheyev and published in two issues of the newspaper on 7 and 9 February this year. They concerned problems in our printing industry. The Americans reacted in an extraordinary way to these articles.

People here have known for a long time that our printing industry is not spectacular. The Americans decided to offer their services. U.S. businessman Geoffrey Barry, representing the interests of the Toronto firm "Fargo Management and Consulting Limited," secured the support of the "Future Alphagraphics" company (headquarters in Arizona), proposed to the Soviet side setting up a joint printing enterprise. Over the spring and summer of this year all the details were carefully agreed upon and a provisional protocol was signed to create a joint enterprise.

Just a few days ago the official agreement was concluded in New York. The "Kniga" publishers represent the Soviet side, and the "Fargo" firm represents the U.S.-Canadian side. Under the agreement "Fargo" has the special right to utilize the technology of the U.S. "Alphagraphics" firm and to open a copying and printing workshop in the USSR. The first two workshops will be opened in Moscow in the first half of 1989. One in the "Sovintsentr" on Krasnaya Presnya, and the other at No. 50 Gorkiy Street.

What services will the workshop provide? Primarily U.S. "Apple-Macintosh" computers set up there and modern laser printing equipment will make it possible to produce high-quality copies of texts and documents (in black and white or four colors). Besides this, at the workshop it will be possible to order visiting cards, title pages, envelopes, official letterheads, business paper, commercial receipts and checks, all kinds of labels (including adhesive labels for mail), and a lot of other items. Facsimile duplicating devices will assist in reproducing any number of newspaper and journal publications, notices, bulletins, and reports. Moreover, not only reproduce but also send them within minutes to great distances away. Similar apparatuses are used, for example, by the editorial offices of USA TODAY and THE WALL STREET JOURNAL for sending finished pages to regional printers throughout U.S. territory and even throughout the world.

As was noted at the news conference in which Roger Ford, president of "Alphagraphics," Geoffrey Kerr-Harris, president of the "Fargo" firm, and M. Volodarskiy, chief consultant of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, took part, foreign missions, members of the diplomatic and correspondents' corps in Moscow and also Soviet departments and establishments, and also Muscovites and visitors to the capital will be able to use the workshop services. The joint enterprise will be further expanded. Around 10 workshops are planned for various Soviet cities.

It remains to be said that the "Kniga" publishers will own 51 percent of all joint enterprise assets, will appoint the workshop's Soviet directors and hire Soviet employees—15-17 people for each workshop.

California Aerospace Firms Behind SDI Program

LD1710001188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] The Republican Party's candidate for the post of president of the United States, George Bush, speaking on national television, has once again called for the implementation of the Star Wars program, otherwise known as Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. We offer a station commentary. International journalist Igor Penchenko is at the microphone.

[Penchenko] Bush's attitude to the Star Wars program reflects the views of those groups in the Republic Party that [words indistinct] on the West coast. That is a region of big military business, where a new generation of the arms manufacturers is concentrated. The pace is set by the Californian group. It is called the Reagan team. California's trademark is the aerospace industry. This state contains a (?series) of such military-industrial giants as General Electric, Westinghouse, General Dynamics, and Rockwell International. The Star Wars program is their invention.

Back in the seventies, the California aerospace concern Rockwell International published a brochure indicating that the occupation of outer space with the help of space stations equipped with laser weapons would provide direct, immediate, and dependable supremacy over any armed forces. This and similar ideas led to the conclusion that only such a program is capable of preventing reduced allocations for strategic weapons, which seemed inevitable at the threshold of the eighties and nineties.

Paraphrasing voltaire, 'The Bulletin of the Federation of American Scientists observed: If SDI did not exist, it would have to be (?invented).

This happened in 1983. The leader of the Californian group—Ronald Reagan, who had been governor the state for 8 years and in 1981 became president of the United States—advocated the Strategic Defence Initiative. (?And SDI) is known as the California program. Almost half of the resources allocated for it are received by companies in that state. Therefore, the contracts being fulfilled by the aerospace industry of California are growing every year by 10 percent. Pennies from heaven is how SDI was described by the California corporation (Cyrus Lawrence) in its shareholders' report.

Indeed, it is a gold mine for the arms makers. After all, between $1 and $2 trillion will be needed for the realization of the Star Wars program.

U.S, USSR Exchange Views on Central America

LD1410120588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] The latest Soviet-U.S. exchange of views at the level of experts on matters concerning the situation in Central America has taken place in London.

Taking part in it on the Soviet side: Pavlov, head of the First Latin American Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry; and on the U.S. side: Abrams, U.S. assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs.

USSR-U.S. Forum Seeks Reduced Tension

PM1810150988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Stanislav Kondrashov "Political Observer's Notes": "A Call To Bid Farewell to Arms"]

[Text] What was the seed from which the tree of Soviet-U.S. relations grew over the past 3 years, a tree which is not very strong yet and needs tending, but nonetheless a tree which fills hearts and minds with hope? At their first meeting in Geneva in November 1985 M.S. Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan agreed that "nuclear war must never be fought" and that "there can be no winners in such a war." This statement was not new, but it contained that very seed. It was not new, but it was followed up by practical, constructive steps that gave it its historic importance. After the still remembered period of mutual hardening of stances which was expressed in the mounting nuclear threat and, in particular, in the U.S. toying with the idea of a "limited" nuclear war, both sides again agreed that there can be no explanation or justification for a nuclear conflict, thus confirming that their policy is guided by rational considerations which exclude suicidal motives.

If you view history as a progression of wars and the invention of increasingly lethal types of weapons, then you must admit that mankind has now reached an impasse in this respect: For the first time weapons have lost their primordial role of serving as a means of achieving victory in war. For the first time weapons serve not through their use but through their mere existence to ensure the renunciation of war as the ultimate means of resolving disputes and contradictions between two powers and the two military-political alliances which are behind them. Weapons have become a deterrent. However, the deterrent effect decreases rather than increases as nuclear arsenals get bigger, making each of the sides suspect the other of seeking to achieve superiority.

The continuing nuclear arms race cannot but undermine the positions of reason. Deterrence assumes a dangerous character—it becomes deterrence located on the slippery surface of an icy mountain, or on a muddy road plunging into an abyss. It is not deterrence, it is a gradual sliding down. Meanwhile the nuclear munitions of a single missile-carrying submarine can cause much more damage than the whole of World War II which claimed 55 million lives. At the same time the potential of the modern wonder weaponry is beyond the scope of political leaders. At a critical time questions of life and death have to be decided within fractions of a minute, which is conducive to taking a desperate risk under the so-called "launch on warning" strategy, which is based not on the actions but on the mere intentions of the other side. Thus the fate of life on earth is entrusted to inanimate computers which are not infallible.

A recently published document reads: "If the inexorable trend toward enhancing the speed and accuracy of weapon systems persists, it will push the USSR and the United States toward a senseless, fatal strategy. The United States and the Soviet Union may fully agree on the suicidal nature of nuclear war, adopting separate decisions to refrain from a premeditated nuclear attack, but the current trends in the development of military hardware are capable of placing the situation beyond political control. As a result of a miscalculation or a technical failure both capitalism and socialism may be turned into ashes as a result of an unpremeditated exchange of nuclear strikes."

The document is the fruit of the first Soviet-U.S. attempt of its kind "to ascertain the conditions necessary for the sides' survival and to submit recommendations for the implementation of concerted actions." The "joint venture" to elaborate these ideas has taken place over the past 3 years under the aegis of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute and the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations. The Soviet group, which was headed by Academician G.A. Arbatov, director of the United States and Canada Institute, comprised V.M. Falin, chairman of the APN Board; F.M. Burlatskiy, policy expert and writer on current affairs; V.V. Zhurkin, director of the USSR

Academy of Sciences Europe Institute; and a number of leading staffers from the United States and Canada Institute. The U.S. group was headed by Arthur Macy Cox, secretary of the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations, and comprised a number of influential Americans including George Ball, former assistant secretary of state; William Colby, former CIA director; Townsend Hoopes, former under secretary for the Air Force; John Culver, former senator; and others.

Our press has already reported the results of this intellectual experiment but only briefly. I believe that the full text of the document which has recently come into my hands deserves a more detailed analysis and is of interest not only to the two countries' policymakers but also to the general reader.

It contains the important acknowledgement that neither power (leadership and people) wants nuclear war because they understand that such a war cannot serve any rational policy purpose. Both sides are ready "to honestly take account of the realities of our age." The concept of military superiority is a suicidal illusion. In the "situation of mutual vulnerability" security has also "become mutual." The fundamental differences between the two social systems remain and will continue to persist even in more favorable circumstances. Their coexistence does not rule out elements of rivalry. The task, therefore, is to contain such ambivalent relations within a framework of mutual—and universal—security.

The main conclusion, the main recommendation of the report reads: "The most promising way to establish relations of stable coexistence in Soviet-U.S. relations is the phased demilitarization of the rivalry between the USSR and the United States."

According to the authors this task calls for efforts in at least three areas. First, it demands a radical reduction of nuclear arms and a renunciation of the "strategic defense initiative" which extends military competition to space. Second, gradual demilitarization must be applied to the balance of conventional arms in Europe, lowering their level. Proceeding from Soviet superiority in conventional arms, NATO strategy, even after the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, retains as a counterweight an element of nuclear deterrence in Europe which comprises, apart from tactical U.S. nuclear weapons, the British and French nuclear arsenals as well. Here the progress toward an accord between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is still slower than one might wish. The differences in the East-West stances can also be glimpsed in the formulations of the document under analysis. Nonetheless, its authors were able to find common ground in the new initiatives of the Soviet Union which has proposed eliminating equalities in Europe not by building up the forces of those who are lagging but by reducing the forces of those who are ahead.

Third, the task has been set of demilitarizing Soviet-American rivalry in the "Third World," in regional conflicts which are hampering the stable coexistence of the USSR and the United States.

The report contains two lists of direct and indirect military interference by the two powers beyond their borders.

"We believe," the report says, "that at present military interference by the big powers in regional conflicts has reached a dangerous point and must be ended by mutual agreement... We have now arrived at a stage in the development of world events where the cost and risks associated with such interference greatly exceed the potential advantages of any of the sides."

Further: "We understand that agreement between the USSR and the United States on the demilitarization of their rivalry in the Third World cannot put an end to coups d'etat, insurgent movements, revolutions, and civil wars in the Third World but we believe that such an agreement would contain and limit their consequences."

More specifically, a number of agreements between the two powers are proposed, including the nonuse of their forces in regional conflicts, nonuse of the armed forces of third countries, restriction to an agreed number of military advisers and instructors sent to Third World countries, compilation of lists of the latest weapon systems which must not be exported to Third World countries, and so forth.

The report drafted under the aegis of the United States and Canada Institute and the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations was born out of the necessities and emerging opportunities of our time. It is true that Kissinger-type Cassandras stubbornly refuse to see these opportunities and continue to intimidate those who will listen to them with prophesies of the inevitable perfidy of the Soviets. But there are also other examples, and they are multiplying, where ideologists and policy experts from both sides are bringing down the barricades of differences in political persuasion and world outlook and building bridges toward each other for the sake of the common aim—survival. They find encouragement in the new climate of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Incidentally, the selfsame regional conflicts have now become the subject of discussion—and solution—around not only academic but also diplomatic tables; they have become an inalienable part of the Soviet-American dialogue. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Soviet forces indicate that Moscow's promises are being translated into the language of concrete action. The demilitarization of the two powers' rivalry is bringing the peacemaking potential of the United Nations into play. This, incidentally, is also mentioned in the report, whose authors note the greater

readiness of the two great powers to rely on the United Nations Organization in the solution of peacekeeping questions in various parts of the world.

China

Possibility of USSR-China Summit Considered

Li Peng Urges Normalization

PM1910121588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Li Peng Statement"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Oct—China hopes for the speediest normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations, PRC State Council Premier Li Peng said on receiving representatives of U.S. financial circles here on a visit, so XINHUA reports. If the talks between the PRC and USSR foreign ministers bear fruit, he said, a Chinese-Soviet summit will be on the cards.

Li Peng stressed, it is reported in RENMIN RIBAO, that China needs a peaceful international situation in which to carry out its modernization. The PRC and the USSR are neighboring states. China hopes to have a good neighbor and is hopeful that Sino-Soviet relations will warm up. Once normalized, ties between the two countries can never return to the fifties type of allied relationship. The improvement of Sino-Soviet relations will not affect the development of Chinese ties with other countries, the PRC State Council premier noted.

USSR Ready 'Any Place, Any Time'

OW1410172888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] The Soviet Union is ready to hold summit with China any place, any time. A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry stated on Thursday that in this connection, the Soviet side maintains that the earlier this meeting is held, the better.

At a news briefing the spokesman announced that Qian Qichen, Chinese foreign minister, will come to Moscow soon and Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister, will make a trip to Beijing in return. He stressed that the two countries will conduct a constructive dialogue, and therefore it is logical to upgrade the level of dialogue.

In his speech in Krasnoyarsk last month, Comrade Gorbachev urged holding a Soviet-Chinese summit.

Zhao, Romania's Ceausescu Hold Talks in Beijing

LD1610091988 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Beijing October 15 TASS—Today Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), held talks with Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, staying in China on an official friendly visit. Matters aimed at strengthening friendship and cooperation between the two parties and states were discussed.

A peaceful settlement of conflicts is the main tendency in the development of present-day international relations, the Chinese leader pointed out. However, the continuing confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States is still the cause of instability in the international situation. With an eye to maintaining positive tendencies, the peoples should not slacken their efforts in the work for peace, he said.

Touching upon Soviet-Chinese relations, Zhao Ziyang pointed out that if progress was achieved at the forthcoming talks between the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers in the cause of a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, a Sino-Soviet summit meeting might be held in the near future.

The general secretary of the CPC Central Committee said that marked changes had taken place in China over the ten years that has passed since the reforms began. The might of the national economy had considerably grown and the living standard of the population had risen.

However, he pointed out, the Chinese economy still encounters difficulties. One of them is inflation. Another, no less serious, problem is the spread of profiteering, embezzlement and bribery among a certain portion of government officials. However, the CPC as a powerful and politically authoritative force can check the negative processes, Zhao Ziyang emphasized.

The Romanian leader said that positive aspects appeared in the development of the present day international situation. However, he said, the probability of the onset of tension remains. Romania supports the idea of a 50-per cent cut in strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States, the elimination of chemical weapons, and reduction in the stocks of conventional arms and in military expenditures. The United States and the Soviet Union bear special responsibility for the solution of these problems which cannot be resolved through the efforts of only these two countries. The peoples of the whole world should make their contribution to the cause of disarmament and the strengthening of peace.

The Romanian leader declared for withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and for the formation of a quadri-partite government in Kampuchea.

PRC Regional Delegation Visits Kazakhstan

LD1210212988 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Alma-Ata October 12 TASS—"China is interested in the elaboration of long-term programmes for cooperation with Soviet Kazakhstan in the field of the

power industry, metallurgy, the chemical industry, and machine building", stated Liu Liyouzhong, general secretary of the People's Government of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. He is heading the region's industrial and economic delegation who arrived in the Kazakh capital.

The delegation of Kazakhstan at the talks is headed by Kadyr Baykenov, deputy chairman of the council of Ministers of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

"Soviet-Chinese cooperation has wide opportunities", Kadyr Baykenov said in an interview with a TASS correspondent. "Kazakhstan supplies 200 types of its products to almost 90 countries and is ready to give greater scope to the export-import trade with China".

He recalled that commercial exhibitions of goods in Alma-Ata in 1986 and somewhat later in Urumchi gave an impetus to the revitalisation of trade following a long period of stagnation. At present, within the framework of goods exchanges between the Soviet Union and China, Kazakhstan supplied the Chinese partners with almost 40 million roubles worth of various products including sheet steel, cathode copper, cast-iron fixtures, electrical engineering products, and coal mine equipment.

The programme for the stay of the Chinese guests envisages meetings in the Council of Ministers and the State Planning Committee of Kazakhstan and a tour of five Kazakhstan regions for the guests to familiarise themselves with enterprises of the power industry, nonferrous metallurgy, chemical and mining industries.

Chinese Agriculture Minister Visits Ukraine

AU1310130088 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 9 Oct 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "Exchanging Experiences"]

[Text] A delegation of the PRC Ministry of Agriculture headed by minister He Kang recently spent 3 days in the Ukraine.

The delegation was received by Yu.A. Kolomiyets, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member, Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, and chairman of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee. He briefed the visitors on the work of the agro-industrial complex under the new management conditions, and on the achievements scored by the agricultural workers in the current year. The working people's needs for many kinds of farm produce have been met fully, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee said. However, many farms still have not reached the level provided for by the Food Program, particularly for the production of meat.

The PRC minister of agriculture inquired about the new forms of labor organization, including the application of leasing contracts, about the scientific provision of agricultural production, and other things.

He Kang gave an account of the processes taking place in PRC agriculture. We are confident, the minister said, that our visit to the Ukraine will serve the interests of developing and deepening Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

Participating in the conversation were A.N. Tkachenko, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and Ukrainian SSR minister, and A.A. Sozinov, chairman of the Presidium of the Southern branch of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee.

The members of the delegation visited a number of agricultural facilities in Kiev Oblast. Businesslike conversations with exchanges of experiences took place at the "15 Years of the October Revolution" and the "Bortnichi" state breeding farms in Pereyaslav- Khmelnitskiy and Borispolskiy Rayons, respectively. An inquisitive conversation on concrete ways of direct cooperation was held during the visit to the Mironovka V.N. Remeslo Scientific Research Institute for Wheat Selection and Seed Farming, which is the Ukrainian agricultural academy.

The guests from the PRC toured Kiev, saw the city's places of interest and architectural monuments.

Friendship Delegation Ends PRC Visit

LD1410115988 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Beijing October 14 TASS—Representatives of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and the Chinese People's Society for Friendship with Foreign Countries have discussed here plans of the expansion of friendly ties between public organizations of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The Soviet side was represented by a delegation of the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society led by Valentina Tereshkova, president of the presidium of the union. The delegation ended its visit to China today.

During the visit they were received by Wang Zhen, deputy chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chen Muhua, head of the All-Chinese Women's Federation.

In Beijing the Soviet guests visited the academy of Space Technology of China and the industrial complex for the assembly of artificial earth satellites. In Shanghai they saw a plant producing carrier rockets of the Changzheng series. Members of the delegation visited the city of Xian. Warm and cordial welcome was accorded to them everywhere.

Soviet-Chinese Financial Agreements Signed

OW1610063088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] An agreement on cooperation between Soviet and Chinese banking businesses and an agreement on settling accounts for local exchange of commodities were signed in Moscow.

In reply to questions asked by a station reporter, Vice President of the Bank of China Ling Zhi said: The two agreements signed between the two countries are conducive to further developing economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and China.

Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank (Kuknov) told reporters that the talks with Chinese comrades were conducted in a constructive atmosphere.

PRC Decides To Drop Foreign Greetings Messages

PM1810152588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own Correspondent Yu. Savenkov report: "Reform of Protocol"]

[Text] Beijing—Beginning this year the PRC press, radio, and television will stop publishing congratulatory telegrams and letters from the leaders of foreign countries on Chinese national holidays as well as reports on receptions to mark those occasions at Chinese diplomatic and consular missions abroad. This, XINHUA reports, corresponds to the generally accepted international practice and meets the spirit of the protocol reform in China.

Northeast Asia

U.S. Navy Participates in Japanese Maneuvers

LD1410171988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Large-scale exercises of Japan's naval forces have ended. A particular feature of these maneuvers, points out the NIHON KEIZAI newspaper today, is the fact that a U.S. aircraft carrier group naval forces took part for the first time. Boris Andrianov comments:

Tokyo and Washington organized a joint demonstration of naval might in the Pacific Ocean such as had never been seen before. Judge for yourselves: In the course of half a month all personnel of the Japanese Fleet were in a state of enhanced combat readiness, and 140 warships and 170 planes almost 80 percent of all Japan's naval forces—were involved in the maneuvers. Moreover, in the second stage of the exercises a U.S. naval grouping joined this armada. It was headed by the strike aircraft carrier "Midway", which was accompanied by nine other warships of the U.S. Seventh fleet. Among them was the latest missile cruiser ("Bunker Hill") equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles and, as testified by the Japanese press, it had six nuclear warheads on board. With what aim were such wargames organized in the region situated south of the Japanese archipelago?

According to the official version they were dictated by the need to work through tasks to give urgent support on the part of the United States in the event that a so-called special situation should arise on the Japanese islands. An attack on Japan by an aggressor is envisaged in this formulation, and our country, as they hint in Washington and Tokyo, can allegedly act in such a role. I think there is no need to demonstrate the absurdity of such suggestions. [passage omitted]

One cannot help noticing that the maneuvers were organized after Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev came out in Krasnoyarsk with a whole package of initiatives aimed at strengthening security measures in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region. In particular, it was proposed to discuss, on a multilateral basis, the question of lowering military confrontation in regions where the coasts of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK and South Korea lie close together, with the aim of freezing and proportionately cutting down on the levels of naval and air forces, and limiting their activity.

If the joint Japanese-U.S. maneuvers are to be regarded as an answer to our sincere proposals, then it works out that in Washington and Tokyo they are again ignoring the interests and hopes of the peoples of the countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

Academics Admit Territorial Dispute With Japan

OW1810031788 Tokyo KYODO in English 0151 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 18 KYODO—Soviet participants at the 6th private-level Japan-Soviet roundtable conference acknowledged on Monday that a territorial dispute exists between the two countries, contradicting a long-standing Soviet official stance, conference sources said.

The sources said a small discussion group on politics at the conference focused on the Soviet-held islands off northern Hokkaido to which Japan also claims sovereignty.

Participants from the Soviet side, including academics, journalists, and political researchers, acknowledged the existence of territorial problems between Japan and the Soviet Union, the sources said.

But while they recognized the dispute, the Soviet delegates did not say whether they believe the four islands belong to Japan, the sources said.

The Kremlin maintains that no territorial issue exists with Japan, and that the islands are part of the Soviet Union.

Political observers said the issue is expected to be taken up when Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze visits Tokyo in December for talks with his counterpart Sosuke Uno and other Japanese officials.

The conference opened here on Monday. Some 130 Japanese delegates, including ruling and opposition members of the Diet (Parliament), academics, businessmen, and officials of Japan-Soviet friendship organizations are attending the 3-day meeting.

Ryzhkov Greets Soviet-Japanese Roundtable

PM1810154988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[Greetings message from N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: "To The Participants in the Sixth 'Roundtable' of Representatives of the Soviet and Japanese Public"]

[Text] I greet the participants in the sixth "roundtable" conference that has opened in Moscow with the theme "Strengthening Good-Neighborliness and Mutual Understanding Between the Peoples of the USSR and Japan Through New Political Thinking."

This theme's noble goal deserves that untiring efforts be devoted to it by both sides. That is why we pay due homage to the "roundtable" conferences held by the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and Japanese friendship organizations, which play an important role in developing dialogue between the USSR and Japanese public.

It is difficult to overestimate the public's ever-increasing contribution to the cause of improving the international climate and ensuring a durable peace. "People's diplomacy" can and should help remove the outmoded stereotypes of fear, mistrust, and hostility and establish in international relations the primacy of reason and moral norms and every people's right to freedom of choice.

The USSR and Japan have vast economic and scientific potentials and rest on rich cultural traditions, and these opportunities must be exploited in order to further develop mutually beneficial cooperation and finally put Soviet-Japanese relations on a normal footing.

All this would accord with the fundamental interests of our peoples and would be an important factor for ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region and for strengthening the potential for peace and good-neighborliness.

I wish the conference's participants successful and fruitful work.

N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

USSR To Release Japanese Fisherman

OW1910014588 Tokyo KYODO in English 0021 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 18 KYODO—A Japanese fisherman detained in the Soviet Union since January will be released on Friday after completing a term in custody, a Japanese Embassy official said Tuesday.

The embassy was notified of the release by the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Embassy officials will meet the fisherman Yosaku Funakoshi, 47, at Khabarovsk in the eastern Soviet Union where he will be released on Friday and send him home on a plane to Niigata in northern Japan.

Funakoshi was a crewman on a 47-ton crab fishing boat, the No. 15 Shinwa Maru from Tottori Prefecture, western Japan, which was seized on January 15 for illegally operating in Soviet waters.

The other nine crew members were released late April.

Mongolia's Yondon on Moscow Stop Meets Rogachev

PM1910084788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 14 October USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev had talks with D. Yondon, Mongolian first deputy foreign minister, who was passing through Moscow on his way home from the GDR.

DPRK Welcomes No Tae-u Summit Proposal

PM1810105588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Unification"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 15 Oct—The DPRK welcomes the desire of South Korean President No Tae-u to travel to Pyongyang for summit talks between North and South. At the same time, to hold these talks it is necessary to achieve an easing of the acute political confrontation and military tension on the Korean peninsula. This is expressed in a statement from the DPRK Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland published in the press today.

The statement contains an appeal to the southern side to ensure conditions for holding talks, the main one being the repeal of the anticommunist "national security" law in South Korea. To create a favorable atmosphere at the talks it is proposed that a military-political consultative meeting be held initially at summit level.

The statement attaches special importance to the speediest convocation of an interparliamentary conference between North and South.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

ASEAN Talks on Cambodian Situation Continue

Vietnam Rejects Draft Resolution

LD1810162988 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Hanoi October 18 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) released a statement here today saying that Vietnam decisively rejects the draft resolution on Kampuchea submitted by the member countries of the Association of South East-Asian Nations (ASEAN) to the 43rd U.N. General Assembly Session. The afore-mentioned draft strays away to confrontation and does not conform to the positive tendencies which were shaped up at the informal meeting in Indonesia, the statement says.

The draft by the ASEAN countries distorts the realities of the situation in Kampuchea. It is based on the far-fetched charges against Vietnam and is aimed at further compounding the efforts to solve the Kampuchean problem at the United Nations.

The proposals by the ASEAN countries do not ensure a reliable barrier to the return of the Pol Pot genocide regime to Kampuchea. The world public and many countries attending the session demand that this opportunity be ruled out.

The dialogue and cooperation among the countries in the region, among the Kampuchean parties, are the sole possible means to attain within the shortest possible time a settlement of the Kampuchean problem. Its solution should take into account the lawful interests of the Kampuchean people, the statement emphasizes.

New Talks Open in Jakarta

BK1710134188 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] A new round of talks on a solution to the Cambodian problem opened today in Jakarta. Attending this meeting were the three Cambodian warring factions as well as representatives of Vietnam, Laos, and the six ASEAN countries.

The Khmer Rouge delegation did not come to the meeting. No reason was given for the absence.

This meeting is the continuation of the conference held in Bogor in July, which discussed views regarding a political solution to the conflict, as proposed by the Cambodian Government, with the aim to seek a solution on the basis of national reconciliation.

Moscow Comments on Jakarta Meeting

BK1810043488 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 17 October 88

[(Lepedev) commentary]

[Text] A meeting was held in Jakarta on 17 October by the working group of the participants in the Bogor meeting on the settlement of the Cambodian problem. Comrade (Lepedev) writes a relevant commentary, the contents of which follow:

Doubtlessly, the Jakarta meeting has instituted an important step toward a political solution to the conflict in Cambodia. The first meeting started by the working group will prepare an agenda, a procedure, and the working principle. So, what will help speed up the settlement of the Cambodian problem? And what will help attract the antagonistic parties to the negotiating table?

In my view, this is the reality and the will of the national reconciliation of the country which has not seen peace for 9 years now. The key role is the good will and the overture of the Cambodian and Vietnamese Governments' policy. At present, the Vietnamese troops are being withdrawn from Cambodia, and the pullout will be completed before the end of 1990 at the latest.

The PRK Government is ready to start direct negotiations with the Khmer Rouge group, but not with Pol Pot and his close associates, who are accountable for the killing of over 3 million Cambodian people.

The settlement of the Cambodian problem has caused great concern to the ASEAN countries, which have provided numerous contributions, as the Cambodian factions have already acknowledged.

I also recall their activities at the United Nations, where they put forward a new draft proposal on resolving the Cambodia problem. The draft has also assured the prevention of the return to power in Cambodia by the Pol Pot regime. It is noted that not everyone is satisfied with the conditions, but the document was mapped out according to the agreement concluded in the Bogor meeting by all the Cambodian political factions.

Presently, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia is linked with the assurance that the Pol Pot regime will not allowed to return to Cambodia, and the fact shows that difficulties will not hamper the process of the settlement. The members of the working group present at the meeting are to continue considerations on concrete issues, and in December they will provide their recommendations for the convening of a new meeting.

U.S.-Philippine Military Base Agreement Reached

PM1910085188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS reports under general heading: "Agreement on Bases Reached"]

[Text] New York, 17 Oct—After intensive talks which lasted several months the United States and the Philippines have reached agreement on the terms for Washington's use for the next 3 years of the U.S. military bases on the archipelago. This was reported by THE NEW YORK TIMES, citing official spokesmen for the Reagan administration. Under the accord which has been reached, the United States has pledged to increase sharply the amount of rent given for the bases, in exchange for the right to continue to use its largest overseas bases, the Clark Field air base and the Subic Bay naval base, which are situated in that country. The newspaper notes that "an annual $481 million will be provided for the Philippines' economic and military needs in 1990-1991." This sum, according to officials, "is considerably in excess of" the present level of payments received every year by the United States' Pacific allies, which amount to $180 million.

Officials believe that the agreement which has been reached "will open the way" to talks on the conclusion of a new U.S.-Philippine agreement on the bases, inasmuch as the current one expires in 1991. The Pentagon views Clark Field and Subic Bay as "an important element of U.S. strategy in the Far East" and considers them to be "among the most important" in the world.

Although according to administration spokesmen some final details of the agreement are still being worked out, they are no obstacle to signing an official document. U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz and Philippine Foreign Minister R. Manglapus should put their signatures to it on Monday.

The Filipinos advocate the unconditional elimination of the U.S. military bases. Opponents of the U.S. military presence have achieved the introduction of antinuclear clauses to the new Philippine constitution, and a draft law is now being examined providing for a ban on the introduction of nuclear weapons into the country.

Manila, 17 Oct—Answering correspondents' questions, President Corazon Aquino confirmed the report from Washington that agreement has been reached between the Philippines and the United States on the status of the U.S. military bases in the former country. The new agreement will set the terms under which the U.S. military bases will exist in the Philippines for the next 3 years. Whether they remain on Philippine soil after 1991 will depend on a decision of the country's supreme legislative organ.

Burmese Students 'Wrong' To Join Insurgents

BK1410111988 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Station commentary]

[Text] On the subject of Burmese students who went to the side of the insurgents, the spokesman for the military government said that the government considered these actions wrong. Many observers believe that this evaluation may be attributable to a variety of reasons.

At this juncture we can recall that the opposition students in the 1970's had made attempts to establish their own army to fight U Ne Win's government. According to historians, a lesson drawn from their failure should still be valid today.

Firstly, it has to be pointed out that attempts to wage civil war in the seventies showed that these did not bring positive results but tended to lead to deaths instead. Besides, it is necessary to remember that inexperienced youths, for material and moral support, quite often blindly follow so-called leaders, who use students in opposition and direct incidents to serve their own purpose.

For example, as known to all, the Western intelligence agencies in the seventies tried to place under their control the opposition student-groups gathered at the Thai-Burma border. A U.S. oil company was used for this purpose, and arms and ammunitions were supplied through this company. It was then not only true that Burma had to face the direct danger of external interference, but the prestige of the students, which traditionally was held in high esteem for its nationalism, was badly tarnished.

However, there are people who are skeptical about such worrisome conditions existing in the present case. Yes, there are reasons for worry.

News reports about the number of students at insurgents' camps reaching a few thousand give cause for worry. For example, it is clear from AFP reports that the KNU leaders are intending to bargain for more financial, food, and military aid, supplied to them by Western countries, by pointing out the student-refugees. They are demanding that all foreign aid to the student groups be channeled only through the KNU. Also, in order to obtain as much as possible, KNU leader Bo Mya declared that the food supplies, which can be supplied to the students at the Karen camps, are sufficient for only 1 month. Also, as reported by some students, the Karen insurgents are attempting to control the students by taking advantage of the existing differences between the Karen students, who are prepared to join hands with the KNU, and those students from Rangoon who would like to move independently.

A student told AFP that when they first arrived from Rangoon they had the impression that the KNU had a broad outlook, but now they realize that the outlook was very narrow.

Observers in Burma draw the conclusion that the attitude to stage armed opposition against the government is likely to become more mature. It is learned that some youth groups in Burma are planning to stage armed movements in some towns. It may not be necessary to point out that such tactics can only disrupt the democratization processes for the Burmese people. Former General U Tin U, vice chairman of the National League for Democracy, had recently warned that the armed opposition can endanger the elections promised by the government.

Meanwhile, preparations for holding the elections are gaining momentum in Burma. Observers are pointing out that the oppositions should not miss the existing opportunity to change the fate of Burma by peaceful means.

Near East & South Asia

Opposition Activities Continue in Afghanistan

Oppositionists Arrested

LD1910104188 Moscow TASS in English 1016 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 19 TASS—The BAKHTAR agency reports that the authorities arrested a group of people accused of actions aimed against the national reconciliation policy, the interests of state security and the Geneva accords on a political settlement in Afghanistan.

The arrested are charged with a wish to create an atmosphere of fear among population. The case will be examined by a government commission vested with appropriate powers.

'Troubleshooter' Vorontsov Viewed

LD1810135088 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 18 Oct 88

[From the "Review of World Developments" Program, presented by Dmitriy Linnik and Karina Melikyan]

[Excerpts] Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov handed his credentials as the new ambassador to Afghanistan and held a meeting with Afghan leader Najibullah on Sunday. [passage omitted]

The appointment of the distinguished diplomat to Kabul comes just 4 months before Soviet troops are due to leave the country under the terms of the Geneva agreement on a political settlement on Afghanistan. Half the contingent has already been withdrawn, but with the increasing rebel attacks on major Afghan cities and (?cited) violations of the Geneva accords, the Soviet Union is apparently revizing its policy toward that country. Hence the need for an experienced diplomatic troubleshooter. Vorontsov's appointment came a day after a Soviet pledge to pay $600 million to a UN-sponsored reconstruction fund for Afghanistan, ravaged by civil war for more than 9 years.

Meanwhile, a prominent opposition leader based in Pakistan indicated that direct talks with the Soviet Union might be close at hand. If the REUTER report is correct, what is the significance of this announcement? First of all, it remains to be seen what there is to talk about. Up until now opposition groups have generally rejected all peace feelers by either the Soviet Union or the Afghan Government. On Monday, however, Afghan opposition alliance leader Borhanoddin Rabbani said the green light has been shown and representatives of the rebel alliance were ready to sit and have political discussions on issues of mutual interest with the Soviet Union.

Presumably, with the Soviet Union represented in Afghanistan by a top diplomat, such discussions might produce tangible results. The Soviet Union repeatedly stated it wanted discussion on the fate of Soviet soldiers missing in Afghanistan, and believed captured by rebel groups and held in rebel hideouts in Pakistan and in Afghanistan itself. Three-hundred-and-eleven Soviet soldiers have been reported as missing. Apart from that important issue, other subjects may be discussed, such as the continuing rebel attacks on withdrawing Soviet troops and missile attacks on Afghan cities, which have claimed hundreds of innocent lives since the Soviet troops began their withdrawal last May.

40 'Irreconcilable' Rebels Killed

LD1610130088 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 16 TASS—Yesterday 40 extremists from among the irreconcilable opposition were killed or wounded as a result of a clash between government troops in District Maywand, Qandahar Province. Another three gunmen were taken prisoner.

Intestine squabbles do not subside between various opposition groups. The BAKHTAR agency reports that on October 14 a shootout flared up in District Qarghah, Laghman Province, between rivals from the Haraket-e Enqelab-e Eslam-e and the Islamic Party of Afghanistan when they started dividing a booty. As a result, six people were killed and one heavily wounded.

At a jirga held in Gardeyz, chiefs and elders of Paktia's tribes pointed to the need for ensuring peace and security in this province. They assured local authorities of their readiness to contribute actively to the process of national reconciliation.

According to data contained in an address of religious leaders of Afghanistan to Moslems of the entire world, which was issued by the BAKHTAR agency, over 650 members of the clergy fell victims of barbaric shellings of cities and villages, more than 720 mosques and prayer-houses were destroyed and burnt down.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent the 99th and the 100th notes of protest to the Mission of U.N. Observers in Kabul. The documents point to specific facts of Pakistan's violations of the Geneva accords and contain a request on holding appropriate investigations.

Najibullah on Foreign Interference

LD1510131688 Moscow TASS in English 0916 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 15 TASS—President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah has made an address to the nation on the occasion of the Red Crescent week being held in the country.

The long war years have brought incalculable sufferings to the Afghans, says the address which was circulated by the BAKHTAR news agency. To have the foreign interference-caused bloodshed ended, the leadership of the country took a number of constructive steps aimed at normalising the situation in Afghanistan, putting into life the national reconciliation policy.

Having signed the Geneva agreements, which charted the way to a peace settlement, Afghanistan is firmly and unswervingly abiding by their provisions. But Pakistan and the United States continue building up dimensions of their interference in the internal affairs of the Republic.

In his address to the nation, the president of the Republic of Afghanistan highly assessed the role of the Afghan Red Crescent Society, as a charity organization, which is doing much to alleviate the sufferings of those who fell victim to extremist crimes.

The president expressed confidence that all patriots of Afghanistan would comprehensively promote the humane activities of the Red Crescent Society.

Pakistan, U.S. Assistance

LD1210122588 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 12 TASS—The armed opposition continues to intensively create on Afghan territory bases and arsenals, to deliver arms and ammunition from Pakistan. It is assisted in those activities by specialists in engineering works from Western and some Arab countries. However, it is Pakistan which is rendering most extensive assistance to the Afghan opposition forces.

A meeting of leaders of the "Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan" held in Peshawar late in September was attended by six representatives of the Armed Forces of Pakistan led by Shamsul Haq, commander of the frontier troops. The meeting decided to turn over to the armed opposition 426 heavy artillery pieces with projectiles whose range of action is 150 m, to form additional groups of extremists with a total strength of 3,700 and to send to rebel groups 48 advisers, including 23 American, 9 Pakistani, 4 French, 3 Egyptian and 9 West German ones.

The smuggling to Afghanistan of caravans with weapons, munitions and various equipment is going on. This process is especially intensive in the Provinces of Kabul, Parvan, Lowgar, Qandahar, Baghlan, Vardak and Helmand, as well as in northern provinces. Over 1,000 jet projectiles were delivered to Faryab Province in one week of last September alone. Milan anti-tank guided missiles were smuggled to Lowgar from Pakistan on the last days of September. Cases of direct participation of Pakistani servicemen and militias from the border areas in combat operations of the Afghan opposition forces are getting more and more frequent.

In connection with the continuing violation of the Geneva accords by Pakistan the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan sent the 97th protest note to the U.N. mission in Afghanistan. It contains a request to conduct investigation into those facts and to report its results to the Afghan Government and a representative of the U.N. general secretary.

'Evidence' of Pakistani Rebel Aid

PM1410142788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Okulov dispatch: "Interference Day after Day"]

[Text] Kabul, 11 Oct—In violation of the Geneva agreements Pakistan continues to give military and financial aid to the armed Afghan opposition. Here is the evidence of recent days. A conference of leaders of the "Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan" was held in Peshawar at the end of September. It was attended by six officers of the Pakistani Armed Forces headed by Shamsul Haq, commander of the border guard. It was decided to hand over to Afghan rebel formations 426 heavy artillery pieces with extended-range shells, to form additional armed groups totaling 3,700 people, and also to dispatch 48 foreign advisers to rebel detachments, including 23 Americans, 9 Pakistanis, 4 Frenchmen, 3 Egyptians, and 9 advisers from the FRG.

The number of caravans dispatched from Pakistan with weapons, munitions, and material backup for combat operations is not diminishing. Intensive efforts are under way to supply gangs operating in Kabul, Parvan, Lowgar, Qandahar, Baghlan, Vardak, and Helmand Provinces and provinces bordering on the Soviet Union. During one week in September alone more than 100 missiles were delivered to the "green zone" in Faryab Province.

Other modern Western weapons are also reaching the rebels. During the last few days of last month "Milan" antitank missiles were sent from Pakistan to Lowgar Province.

Instances of participation by Pakistani regular forces in combat operations on the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan are multiplying. For instance, on 13 June and 5 July the operations of the insurgents in Spin Buldak District in Qandahar Province were supported by a company of the Pakistani border militia and the "Milli-3" regiment. The attacks on the Spin Buldak border post, which has now been captured by armed opposition detachments were, as planned, coordinated by Colonel Shafkat [name as published] of the Pakistani Armed Forces. On 1 October 500 members of the Pakistani militia invaded Afghan territory in Shahr-e Safa District (Zabol Province) and took part in combat operations mounted by a gang of extremists against a subunit of the Afghan Army.

The Islamabad authorities are trying to cover up these dangerous actions of theirs with a smokescreen of unfounded accusations about Aghan bombings of Pakistani territory. However, it is obvious that the aim of this propaganda campaign is to present a distorted picture of the actual situation, in which Afghanistan is conscientiously abiding by the Geneva accords.

USSR Assists UN Aid Program

PM1410134188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Humane Approach"]

[Text] New York, 13 Oct—An international conference has been held at UN headquarters on contributions to UN humanitarian and economic aid programs for Afghanistan. It is not for nothing that this program, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar stated in opening the conference, has been dubbed "Operation Peace." The conclusion of the Geneva agreements on settling the situation around Afghanistan was the first and, undoubtedly, the most important of all the positive events that have inspired hopes of peace in various regions and helped improve the international situation.

A.M. Belonogov, USSR permanent UN representative, stated that the USSR's special position as a neighbor of Afghanistan also determines the special place that the Soviet Union holds in offering the country bilateral aid. At the same time the Soviet spokesman pointed out that the USSR intends to take an active part in international efforts in this area. He informed the international community of the USSR Government's decision to take part in UN humanitarian and economic aid programs for Afghanistan.

This aid will be offered in the form of shipments from the USSR of consumer goods, equipment, and materials for setting up facilities in various economic sectors in accordance with UN programs. Direct consumer goods shipments are envisaged.

Equipment Contracts With USSR

LD1210193288 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 12 TASS—Two contracts have been signed to deliver equipment and materials from the USSR to set up facilities for auto and tractor maintenance stations in Jalalabad and Konduz. The contracts are worth a combined 6.5 million clearing dollars. They provide for the foreign trade association Selkhozpromexport to assist the Afghan side in creating the infrastructure required for these stations to be more efficient.

At present seven such stations function successfully in Afghanistan. They are fitted out with Soviet equipment supplied on credit terms.

Troops Withdrawal Status

LD1610123888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 16 Oct 88

["From the "Panorama" program; dialogue between presenter Gennadiy Vedenyapin and correspondent Mikhail Leshchinsky]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] Right now we have our Kabul correspondent Mikhail Leshchinsky on the line. Can you hear us Mikhail?

[Leshchinskiy] Yes I can hear you.

[Vedenyapin] I will say straight away that I have not invited you here to talk to us today without reflection. Five months exactly have passed since the day that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began. Four months remain. And the natural question that we are all asking is how our lads feel there.

[Leshchinskiy] I should tell you that to date, at the end of the first stage of the troop withdrawal, there are about 50,000 of our soldiers remaining in Afghanistan. They are continuing their service here and for them the last long, hot Afghan summer is drawing to a close.

On 15 February, as you know, the withdrawal of our troops should be completed. I have in front of me a map of Afghanistan on which the garrisoning of our units and subunits now has been plotted. I have to say that there are two narrow strips which in the west of the country link up with the town of (Shantun) on the Soviet border, that is in the area of Kushka, and in the east of the country the same line links up Kabul with our town, Termez. These 50,000 Soviet troops are garrisoned here

at the moment and what is more they are serving to protect these two major, vitally important lines of communication for Afghanistan.

If one is to talk about how this summer was for them one has to say that it was very difficult. But the main task has been fulfilled. They have ensured the safe return home of their comrades. Of course there were exhausting, dangerous mountain raids to intercept weapon convoys, the destruction of major bases and arsenals of the armed opposition, the escorting of supply convoys, armed clashes, explosions of mines, and the clearing of mine fields. There have been injuries, and unfortunately there have been losses too of course, which are particularly distressing right now when the Afghan war is generally coming to an end for Soviet soldiers.

However, the constantly deteriorating military and political situation in the country does not give grounds for weakening. Given the increasing support from Pakistan, and its continual violation of the Geneva agreements, the forces of the armed Afghan opposition have managed, according to certain statistics over this period to seize several Afghan provinces, and appreciably expand the zone of their influence in regions where Soviet units and subunits were once stationed.

The continual attacks on major towns and strategically important installations go on, including on those that are guarding our posts and outposts. I have some of the latest figures. For instance in September Kabul alone was subjected to massive rocket shellings on 21 occasions. Two hundred rocket missiles were launched in September alone on Kabul's residential areas, and I stress the residential areas, because the members of the opposition claim that they are making strikes against military installations only. As a whole over these months of fulfillment of the Geneva agreements, which, as you know, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan are carrying out firmly, in Kabul and Kabul Province alone, more than 700 civilians, mainly women and children, have fallen victim to the terror of the extremists. Here 346 dwellings have been destroyed. and literally about 40-50 minutes before I came onto the air, not at all far from our correspondent's post, in the fifth district of Kabul, two rocket missiles exploded again. Once again two have been killed and two injured. The missile hit a clay house. That is the situation here to date.

As I have already said our soldiers are continuing to carry out their difficult and generally life-endangering service. There are no grounds at present for easing up, for sitting on one's suitcases and waiting to go. Indeed these sentiments do not exist. Any more questions, please go ahead?

[Vedenyapin] Thank you very much, Mikhail. I wish our lads every success and good health and I hope that you can tell us how things are developing further in the our next Panorama.

[Leshchinskiy] With pleasure, particularly as interesting events lie ahead. It is natural that in these conditions the Afghan side, the state power, is not standing idly by; vigorous measures are being taken. I hope that we shall acquaint you with them in the very near future. All the best.

[Vedenyapin] All the best.

'Factors' for Solution

LD1810034688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 17 Oct 88

[From the"Internatioanl Diary" program; commentary by Aleksandr Malikov with introduction by presenter Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Excerpts] [Ptashnikov] And now about the situation in Afghanistan and around it. [passage omitted] My colleague, commentator Aleksandr Malikov, will tell you in detail about the causes and consequences of these violations of the peace accord by Pakistan:

[Malikov] So, the number of protest notes has exceeded 100. And this figure invites disturbing thoughts, on the whole. It seems that the political breakthrough that led up to the signing of the Geneva accords more than 6 months ago has not been followed by a practical breakthrough, so to speak, in the area of their full and honest implementation. It is clear that such a situation cannot continue indefinitely. The cause of settlement cannot rest halfway without generating centrifugal forces capable of threatening the fate of the Geneva documents themselves. Undoubtedly, this is important for prospects for establishing peace, not just in that region.

The factors which have so far harmed the mechanism of the Geneva accords can be plainly seen. After the accords were signed, Pakistan and the United States established a partnership with the Afghan armed opposition which is only fanning the flames of the civil war even more. The strictly mercenary goals of the partners are obvious, too—to put in power their henchmen among the irreconcilables. By doing this, according to the Americans, they hope to make profitable political investments which will yield dividends in the near future.

Of course, this is nothing but speculation, for the real development of events in and around Afghanistan introduces changes into the above tactical schemes. First of all, the withdrawal of our troops has not led to the Kabul regime's downfall "2 months later" as leaders of the Peshawar Seven and certain figures in the U.S. Department of State predicted. So, a quick victory has failed to materialize. Moreover, according to THE WASHINGTON TIMES, certain experienced leaders of the Afghan rebels, who know the country's situation by more than hearsay, are now cooling the State Department's optimism, which predicts the rebels' victory no later than the next spring.

This is one point. The other point—and Pakistan will inevitably have to take it into account—is the fact that a certain part of the armed opposition is increasingly more inclined to look for compromises with the government. Talks on forming coalition organs of power are now underway in five Afghan towns—precisely in those towns over which especially hard battles have been fought in the last few weeks. This process, however, seems to be spreading even wider and involving individual provinces. Thus, Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq recently told journalists taht the governor of Asadabad Province [as heard] had started dialogue with the opposition about a coalition government for the province.

And, finally, another essential point—the internal political situation in Pakistan itself. On the one hand, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, successor to Ziaul Haq, has been following an anti-Afghan course, which recently was again praised by President Reagan. On the other hand, parliamentary elections are coming nearer and supporters of former prime minister Junejo have good chances of winning them. They are for observing honestly the Geneva accords and said so in their election platform. We should not forget that Junejo was removed from office by the late Ziaul Haq precisely because of their differences over the implementation of the Geneva accords. And, one should also take into consideration the feelings of the Pakistanis. The U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT writes that in a country where trade in arms and drugs are the most rapidly developing areas, everybody wants economic improvements and an end to the Afghan war.

Such are not the least important objective arguments making possible the hope that the settling of the Afghan problem will finally switch from political avenues to practical ones. At the same time, for Pakistan to change course it will need not only to make an impartial analysis of the Afghan situation, but also to demonstrate the Pakistani leadership's independent political will.

Next month a draft of the so-called consensus resolution on Afghanistan will be submitted to the UN General Assembly. In addition to calling for observing the most important articles of the Geneva accords, as the foreign press reports, it stresses the need to form an Afghan government on a broad base. In other words, it says the same things that are being said now in Kabul. After returning home from New York, Yakub Khan, Pakistani minister of foreign affairs, told journalists that he was in favor of the draft resolution. It is important now that the verbal approval of this document should be confirmed by subsequent practical steps.

Commentary on Sharq Interview

LD1210101388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1755 GMT 11 Oct 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Andrey Ptashnikov with Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] Now about the situation in another hot spot of the planet: Afghanistan. News agencies report that in various provinces of that country armed clashes have not stopped between the Afghan Army and the armed opposition. Particularly fierce battles are taking place in Qandahar Province. According to data from BAKHTAR, in the past 2 days alone over 70 rebels have been killed or wounded. Units of government troops have also seized a large quantity of arms and munitions. Last night extremists fired rockets at Jalalabad. As a result of that terrorist act, 20 peaceful citizens died and 32 were injured.

Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq gave an interview to AFP in which he touched on a large range of questions connected with various aspects of a settlement of the Afghan problem. Foreign observers have particularly noted the section of that interview in which Sharq set out the Afghan Government's views on the prospects for ending the civil war and creating new coalitions in the country.

I will now ask my colleague, commentator Aleksandr Malikov, to describe this in more detail.

[Malikov] I have always been struck by the clear contrast which you can see when comparing the initial position of the current Afghan Government and the initial position of the forces which are on the other side of the barricade. Kabul has constructive concepts for restoring and building Afghanistan's future. The armed opposition does not have such a concept.

In order to begin to build the foundations for postwar Afghanistan right now, the present government is proposing an immediate dialogue. This proposal is not in prepackaged form or accompanied by preliminary conditions. It is an idea for an initiative which is being improved all the time, taking into account the situation and always adding new features to it. Sharq's AFP interview is particularly interesting in this sense because he insisted that Kabul does not regard the war as a struggle for power. Neither the PDPA nor the few parties which already have their representatives in the cabinet intend to monopolize power. They are ready to sit down at the negotiating table with the opposition leaders and those authoritative Afghans who are still abroad. They are also prepared to invite to the negotiating table representatives of the refugees.

In other words, Kabul wants to achieve aims which are both natural and wise, to unite the Afghan people who are closely bound together by traditions, culture, and religion. Talks about this could be the prologue to a Loya Jerga. The idea of the holding of Loya Jerga, in the spirit of Afghan national traditions, was advanced a few months ago by Ecuadorean diplomat Diego Cordovez.

That is how in general terms Sharq formulated the government's position. At the same time, apparently taking into account the strong feelings of Afghans in favor of the return from Italy of 74-year-old Zaher Shah [exiled king of Afghanistan] he left the door open for him too. That is one more detail in the range of compromises

which decorate Kabul's flexible position. Unfortunately, we do not see anything of this from the opposition. Wracked by internal contradictions, the opposition is united in only one thing: its irreconcilability. However, irreconcilability—and all the more so when it is raised to being an absolute—is not a concept, at least not a creative concept. Hostility has always been a bad adviser, leading only to a dead end. In this specific case it can only transform Afghanistan in essence into a second Lebanon. Moreover, it seems to me that irreconcilability is something alien, brought in from outside. It is no secret that the coal on which it is assiduously heated up is the military aid arriving in inordinate quantities for the armed opposition from the United States and other countries.

It is no coincidence that Prime Minister Sharq in his interview called on Washington to return to the positions which facilitated the U.S. signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. The main thing is, in his opinion, that the United States should use its influence so that the opposition will be inclined to take part in peace talks.

In conclusion, I would like to say the following: The leaders of the Peshawar seven have a very quiet life. They have large amounts in Western accounts. Their wives and children are far from the roar of the guns. All the same, we would like to hope that the senselessness and banefulness of the fratricidal war will eventually be understood by them, too, just as they will understand the illusoriness of the idea that some day they will be given the key to Kabul.

More on Lushev, Military Delegation in PDRY

LD1810145088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 18 Oct 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A Soviet military delegation has been in Democratic Yemen on an official friendly visit. Our correspondent reports:

[A. Murashkin—identified by caption] Our country's military delegation arrived in the capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) at the invitation of Colonel Salih 'Ubayd Ahmad, minister of defense, to take part in celebrations connected with two glorious jubilees in the history of the people of South Yemen—the 25th anniversary of the 14 October revolution, and the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Yemeni Socialist Party. Our country's delegation is headed by Army General Lushev, USSR first deputy minister of defense.

The members of the delegaton were received by the PDRY minister of defense. The conversation provided an interesting exchange on a number of international problems. A special place was devoted to the development of bilateral friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Democratic Yemen. The meeting acquainted the Yemeni side with the progress of restructuring, particularly in the USSR Armed Forces. On the jubilee of the South Yemen revolution, the members of the Soviet military delegation were on the dais which had been set up in Liberation Square for guests of honor. A military parade by Republic People's Army units and a demonstration by the working people were held near the square. Army Gen Lushev laid a wreath at the monument to the heroes of the revolution, and also took part in a meeting with 'Ali Salim al-Bid, YSP Central Committee secretary general. [video shows Lushev descending aircraft steps, shaking hands with Yemeni officers, talks in progress, military parade, Lushev saluting at the parade, laying wreath]

Maslyukov Welcomes Talyzin Back From PDRY

PM1810154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Return"]

[Text] A Soviet party and government delegation headed by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, returned to Moscow 16 October from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. It took part in celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the 14 October Revolution and the 10th anniversary of the formation of the Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP].

The delegation was met at the airport by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

The welcome party included A.'A. 'Abd al-Ilah, PDRY ambassador to the USSR.

Soviet Economists Visit Syria 14-17 Oct

LD1410215588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1126 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Damascus, 14 Oct (TASS)—A group of Soviet economists, led by Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations at the USSR Academy of Sciences, was in Syria 14-17 October.

The group was received by H. al-Asad, the president of the Syrian ARab Republic; Vice President 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam; Abdullah al-Ahmar and S. Qaddah, deputies of the general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party; prime minister M. al-Zu'bi; M. al-Imadi, minister of economy and foreign trade; and by S. Baqjaji, minister of state for planning affairs.

In the course of their conversations, which passed in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, there was an exchange of opinions on the problems of the Middle

East, and also on questions of Soviet-Syrian cooperation, including cooperation in the economic sphere. Mutual satisfaction at the state of friendly relations between the USSR and the Syrian Arab Republic, and the aspiration to deepen cooperation between the Soviet Union and Syria, which takes many forms, was expressed. Today the group of Soviet economists left for home.

Syria's Talas Sees 'No Change' in Israeli Policy

PM1210141288 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 88 p 9

[Interview with Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Talas by own correspondent Sergey Medvedko in Damascus: "Mustafa Talas: On Dates, Peace, and War"—date of interview not stated; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text]The Syrian people are marking the 15th anniversary of the 1973 October war. In connection with this date LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's own correspondent met with Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Talas.

Damascus—[Medvedko] Mr Minister, how do you assess the results of the October war in the light of the subsequent development of the situation in the Near East?

[Talas] The events of those years were, in my view, a new starting point in the history of the Arab countries, because it was a step to restore justice. They helped to strengthen the morale of the region's Arab population, which came to believe in its own strength and in the possibility of entirely liberating the Israeli-occupied lands.

[Medvedko] By an irony of history, this date, remarkably, coincides with another date: It is 10 years since the signing of the Camp David separate agreements.

[Talas] Today, 10 years on, it has finally become clear that peace according to the Camp David scenario is not feasible. Syria from the first assessed this course as one of capitulation and a betrayal of the pan-Arab and Palestinian cause. I think Israel's aggression against Lebanon and the subsequent tragic events in that country and the failure to resolve the Palestinian problem convincingly illustrate the futility of the 1978 deal.

[Medvedko] Mr Minister, as you know, the Soviet Union and the United States have taken the first steps on the road to disarmament. Could the Soviet-American experience come in useful in the cause of lessening the Arab-Israeli military confrontation?

[Talas] We wholeheartedly welcome the U.S. and Soviet efforts on the path to disarmament. To free mankind from the danger of nuclear weapons is the paramount task. But it is the United States that gives unlimited assistance to Tel Aviv, supplying its Army with the most modern types of armaments. Israel produces nuclear and chemical weapons, takes part in the "Star Wars" program, and manufactures missiles. Israel's launch of its first satellite for espionage purposes is a new factor in the military escalation. This step violates the military equilibrium and opens the door to the arms race in the region. So unfortunately we see no change in the Israeli leadership's policy.

Commentary on Post-War Economic Ties With Iran

NC1410090188 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1800 GMT 12 Oct 88

[(Aleksandr Batyev) commentary from the feature "On the Waves of Radio Moscow"]

[Text] Dear listeners, as we have previously said, the process of the Iran-Iraq talks has slowed down. Does this mean that the outlook for easing tension between the two countries and throughout the Persian Gulf is uncertain?

We put this question to our commentator (Aleksandr Batyev). He said: First of all I would like to point out that when we speak about a political solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict, we should not focus all our attention on the Geneva talks. These talks enjoy a (?special) place in the effort to achieve a lasting peace in the region. However, important steps outside the framework of the talks are also being taken in order to achieve this end. One of these steps is that the Iranian Red Crescent and Red Cross [as heard] have stated that they have completed all necessary steps toward the exchange of prisoners of war. Apart from this, Iran's Navy started the second phase of the Persian Gulf minesweeping operation. Finally, we can point out that Marrack Goulding, assistant to the UN secretary general who arrived in the area on Monday, has expressed full satisfaction with the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq.

In my opinion all these show that both countries are determined to find a political solution to their conflict; and this, in turn, guarantees the success of the Geneva talks. I should point out at this point that the international barometer, which is extremely precise, has registered this determination.

How is this international barometer read? First by the unprecedented activities by Western companies that have offered their services to Iran for the revival and reconstruction of the economy. Following this, contacts with the West (?on the government level) are expanding. For example, Italy sent a large economic delegation to Iran and dozens of large British companies participated in the recent Tehran International Trade Fair. Moreover, by the end of the current year a large FRG economic delegation is expected to visit Tehran and meet with Iran's foreign minister there.

One can only be pleased with such trends. The war inflicted hundreds of billions of dollars in damage to Iran's economy. It would take a long time to reconstruct the economy if one depended only on one's own

strength. But there is another aspect to the issue which should not be forgotten. Some in Tehran fear that Western companies may exploit Iran's weakened economy and may possibly impose unsuitable conditions on Iran when concluding agreements with it. What should be done? There are several ways to resist the pressure by Western companies. As was justly and timely noted in Tehran, one of these measures is the balanced expansion of economic relations with the West and the East, namely with the Soviet Union, especially since Soviet-Iranian relations boast a long history of mutually beneficial cooperation. Presently these relations are returning to their normal channel after a temporary lag. For example, the Soviet side will actively participate in the reconstruction and rennovation of the Esfahan steel mill and the Ramin and Esfahan thermal power plants as well as of a number of other units built with Soviet assistance. Talks were carried out to this effect during the Tehran International Trade Fair, in which the Soviet Union participated. Mr 'Ali Majedi, deputy minister of economic affairs and finance, stated in his speech at the fair that the volume of trade is not favorable and cannot be considered satisfactory in view of the two countries' capabilities.

The conclusion drawn from (Aleksandr Batyev's) remarks is that good horizons are opening before Soviet-Iranian economic relations. As for how these potentials and outlooks can be implemented, we will discuss that in our next program.

Indian President Receives New Soviet Envoy

LD1710135088 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] New Delhi October 17 TASS—Indian-Soviet relations are an important factor in the preservation of universal peace and stability, President Ramasvami Venkataraman of India stated today.

Speaking at a ceremony of the presentation of credentials to him by Viktor Isakov, a new Soviet ambassador to India, the president pointed out that the people and government of India would further consolidate the ties of friendship and mutual trust typical of Soviet-Indian relations.

Ramasvami Venkataraman said that India was attaching much importance to the coming visit to New Delhi of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He pointed out that the ideas and spirit of the Delhi Declaration signed in November 1986 by Rajiv Gandhi and Mikhail Gorbachev were reflected in positive changes in the world climate that took place since that time.

The president of India dwelt on the importance of a further expansion and deepening of economic relations between India and the Soviet Union. He pointed out that the economic assistance rendered to India by the Soviet Union, as well their cooperation were a good support for India in its efforts aimed at achieving economic independence.

East Europe

LCY Plenum Discusses Party Tasks, Reform

Suvar Delivers Report

PM1810120588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA and TASS correspondents Ye. Fadeyev, A. Bocharov, and V. Kuznetsov dispatch: "LCY Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct—The 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum opened here today. S. Suvar, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, delivered a report on the party's tasks in overcoming the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation within the country.

At present the situation in Yugoslavia and the LCY, he said, arouses the concern of all the country's citizens. An extremely complex and dangerous social, economic, and political situation is taking shape. This situation was the main reason for convening this plenum, at which we must assess our work self-critically and in a party-minded fashion and take a direct look at the various current class, social, ethnic, and other interests and indicate how society is to develop in the future.

The following question has recently been asked more and more often in our country and abroad: Does socialism in Yugoslavia have a future? The LCY Central Committee has met today not to debate this question but to stress that socialism and self-management do have a future and that the LCY is ready and able to head all progressive forces in the quest for new paths of social development. We must show the world that we are still attached to our fundamental ideas of developing socialism. The LCY Central Committee must answer three key questions: Why have we found ourselves in the present situation? What is the platform for the renewal and further development of socialism in Yugoslavia? What must be done immediately to implement reforms of the economy, the political system, and the party itself?

Yugoslav society is faced with a most complex task—economic reform—on whose implementation the fate of socialism itself primarily depends. Attempts were made in the past to carry out economic reforms, but they proved futile. They were unsuccessful because the ossified political bureaucratic structures were not prepared to abandon their power. Workers were given control of enterprises while technocrats seized control of income. Within the framework of economic reform, a solution is

needed that will ensure that social ownership is the basis for material development under conditions of commodity production and the basis for the development of socialist self-management.

Current economic policy should facilitate economic reform. The priority task is to broaden economic organizations' independence and initiative. With market mechanisms of economic management in operation, labor collectives should themselves be responsible for mistakes in their activity.

The present economic policy with its elements of administrative interference based on the principle of freezing and unfreezing prices has not produced the requisite results, S. Suvar said, and has resulted in a rise instead of a fall in inflation. The main task of the current economic policy is to curb inflation.

With reference to questions of political reform, the speaker stressed that the ratification of draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution is a very important step toward implementing the LCY course of further developing and improving the system of socialist self-management.

One of our main tasks, S. Suvar pointed out, is to effect profound transformations in the LCY. We must tackle this work immediately. Within the framework of the preparations for the 14th LCY Congress, we propose to form a commission on LCY reform at this plenum.

The LCY's practical attitude to the state and its executive and legislative organs must be changed because presently it interferes needlessly in state functions and assumes responsibility for executive organs. The LCY is not waging a reasoned struggle for its positions and its policy and has insufficient respect for public opinion as an expression of socialist democracy.

The regrettably notorious cadre men who engage in "cadre" placement in the privacy of their offices must also be removed from the LCY and its practical work. The role and practical involvement of primary party organizations in preparing, adopting, and fulfilling LCY decisions is inadequate.

According to the speaker, the profound transformations within the party itself will also be reflected in new LCY rules. A draft document will be submitted for examination by the 14th LCY Congress.

All of Yugoslavia, S. Suvar went on to say, is frightened by the situation in Kosovo, the counterrevolutionary onslaught of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and the manifestations of nationalism among the country's other peoples and ethnic groups. At present the settlement of the Kosovo problem is the most important condition for calming political passions in the SFRY.

The Communists of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia must elaborate their positions jointly and begin joint activity in that autonomous province. While creating unity, we must observe the principles of democratic centralism in internal party life both in the League of Communists of Serbia and in the LCY in general, bearing in mind that the League of Communists of Kosovo is an integral part of the League of Communists of Serbia and of the LCY.

In conclusion, S. Suvar said that the LCY Central Committee Presidium, together with the republic and provincial party organizations' central committee presidiums, has elaborated a program of immediate tasks for the LCY to overcome the unfavorable political, economic, and social situation in the SFRY.

A debate then began at the LCY Central Committee plenum on S. Suvar's report.

New Party Commission Established

LD1910022788 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 2000 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Our Belgrade correspondent reports on the results of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. Quoting the speeches at the session, he writes that the main cause of the crisis in the country is the inconsistent and inadmissably slow implementation of the decisions of the 13th congress and of the recent party conference. It was openly said that a resolute turning point has not yet been achieved, either in the economy or in removing obstacles to the development of a socialist society based on the principles of self-management. Participants in the LCY Central Committee session pointed out, our correspondent reports, that the reform of the economy, political system, and party is complex. With the help of this reform, Yugoslav socialism will start to overcome the crisis in the society, to free itself of ideological and theoretical dogmas, incorrect solutions, [word indistinct] bureaucracy and technocracy, the old-fashioned structures of industry, and especially national egoism.

Our correspondent reports about the decision by participants in the session to establish a commission for implementing the transformation of the LCY. The aim of the commission is to critically analyze the practice of party work and to improve forms and methods of its activity. Commission tasks also include finding out why the program and statutory demands of the party and the decisions of its congresses and sessions are not fulfilled in practice. In addition, the commission will consider issues concerning the strengthening of the LCY, the democratization of its cadre policy, and the improvement of election organs, our correspondent reports.

Poland's Rakowski To Visit in Late October

LD1810164688 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—As agreed by the sides, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party Central

Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, will pay a friendly working visit to the Soviet Union late in October 1988.

IZVESTIYA on Changes in Polish Government

PM1910110388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "With Open Doors: New Polish Council of Ministers Formed"]

[Text] Warsaw—Life in Poland today does not fit in very well with the canons of the administrative-bureaucratic system which is now quitting the historical stage, albeit unwillingly, and which seemingly did everything during the many years of its existence to slow down the development of socialism as a society of true democracy, as well as its unlimited potential. What is happening involves profound reforms in economic and sociopolitical life and the breakup of the obsolete system. This is akin to our restructuring and is aimed at casting off the fetters of dogmatism and the ideological fossils and at removing from the path much that is hindering free progress.

Everyone following the development of events in Poland knows that under the pressure of public criticism, the government resigned on 19 September—an event unprecedented in Polish history. The Sejm appointed Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the chairmanship of the republic Council of Ministers. Also unprecedentedly, he asked for 2 weeks to choose the composition of the new government and draw up an action program, and not in the quiet of his office but in the course of consultations with representatives of the broadest public forces and political orientations. Previously such a procedure always took place behind the scenes. This time the premier went like Muhammad "to the mountain," showed his hand, and listened to his interlocutors' opinions, which, incidentally, did not always coincide with his own. The newspapers, radio, and television regularly reported where he had been and whom he had met.

I will give just a few addresses: the United Peasant Party [ZSL], the Democratic Party [SD], the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the All-Polish Trade Union Accord, the All-Polish Union of Peasants and Agricultural Circles and Organizations, religious establishments, the Polish Academy of Sciences, directors of major industrial enterprises, and opposition representatives. Unusually too, the newspapers widely published roundups of statements by various citizens on the subject: What you could bring to the new premier's attention.

How did the interlocutors treat the emergence of the new style and the government head's goodwill? The majority approved of his desire to form a cabinet based on a broader political representation and coalition. In resolving the socioeconomic program the government attaches priority to such areas as agriculture and the food industry, housing construction, and environmental conservation.

However, not everyone wanted to shake M. Rakowski's proffered hand. I recall his saying in the Sejm on 27 September: "People say to us: Move over, and admit others to real power. I wish for nothing so much as to satisfy these demands." This was why, in the course of talks with representatives of circles which count themselves part of the opposition, he offered them four places in the government, including vice premier and minister of labor and social policy. They refused. It is clear why. It is one thing to observe from the sidelines and be a critic. It is quite a different thing to assume part of the responsibility for affairs in the state and not just talk but take actions which people will assess.

Nevertheless, in his 13 October program speech in the Sejm, when he presented to the deputies the main areas of work and, so to speak, the philosophy of the government, M. Rakowski left the door open: The places offered will be left vacant. The people invited have time to think. But time—this time—cannot be infinite. Urgent affairs await the government.

A vote took place in the Sejm on 14 October. The deputies approved the candidacies for government members proposed by M. Rakowski. Prior to this, in the corresponding sectoral commissions, they had heard the candidates tell them about their action programs and answer questions. It was, characteristically, a program of specialists and experts but also, at the same time, of politicians who reject departmental thinking.

The cabinet has been decisively transformed: It includes 10 new faces—3 deputy premiers and 7 ministers. The old ones who remain include, for example, Internal Affairs Minister C. Kiszczak, National Defense Minister F. Siwicki, Foreign Minister T. Olechowski, and Culture and Art Minister A. Krawczuk. As M. Rakowski had promised, in a number of cases the decisions were out of the ordinary. Thus, for example, M. Wilczek, a private employer and coproprietor of a firm with foreign capital, has become minister of industry. Incidentally, he is a supporter of transferring to private hands those small state enterprises which are on the verge of bankruptcy. J. Planeta-Malecka, a nonparty person and pediatrician, has been appointed minister of health and social welfare. In general, the government's composition is distinguished by its very broad coalition nature. All three parties are represented in it—the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD—and there are nonparty people and figures from various public organizations.

All this means that in the government it will become the rule to compare different viewpoints on particular problems. However, as M. Rakowski pointed out, disputed proposals should be perceived as a normal phenomenon. We must all become accustomed to pluralism of opinions.

The new administration is beginning its activity at a very complex time for the government, when negative emotions and feelings of uncertainty and apprehension about the future prevail in society. The Polish Council of Ministers chairman is offering all his compatriots a union directed against mismanagement, indifference, lack of faith, and red tape and for reforms and the creation of working and living conditions under which no effort or initiative will be wasted. Everything will be done with open doors: No decision that provokes universal protest will be adopted. However, the premier remarked in his Sejm speech, we must also shake up our citizens and inspire them with faith. This can be done not by words but by actions. In the name of reform, he said, we can keep on "swimming against the current."

It is frequently possible to hear and read in the press here that the government is going to have a hard time. J. Urban, the Polish Government's press spokesman, was asked at a recent news conference how he personally perceived the new appointment of M. Rakowski, his old colleague in journalism. Urban replied with his characteristic humor: "With satisfaction, but also with mixed feelings, because under the present conditions the job can be compared only with that of a stunt man."

The notes of optimism in M. Rakowski's speech were heard by everyone. They reached the ears of the many Poles for whom the latest Sejm session was an important event which inspired them with hope.

Warsaw Party Chief Views Moscow Ties

PM1810163188 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with J. Kubasiewicz, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw party committee, by MOSTASS special correspondents A. Pershin and B. Shestakov "especially for MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA": "Moscow Days Open in Warsaw Tomorrow: J. Kubasiewicz: 'Process of Renewal Is Irreversible'"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Moscow Days—a festival of friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal capitals—begin in Warsaw on 10 October. Just prior to them Janusz Kubasiewicz, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw party committee, answered questions put by MOSTASS special correspondents A. Pershin and B. Shestakov.

Correspondents: How would you describe the political situation in Poland today, particularly in the capital?

Kubasiewicz: The sociopolitical situation in Poland, above all in Warsaw, is rather complicated today. There have been no crisis phenomena in the capital this time in the form of strikes at enterprises and in higher educational institutions. Attempts to organize strikes did take place but were not supported by the people of Warsaw. I believe that this is not fortuitous but is the result of the purposeful political work being carried out by party, trade union, and youth organizations, the leadership of enterprises and higher educational institutions, and the broad aktiv of communists and nonparty people who support socialism.

The causes of sociopolitical tension lie in the country's economic difficulties and are particularly related to interruptions in the supply of certain foodstuffs and industrial goods. The point is that earnings at some enterprises have risen more quickly than prices and the volume of output. A gap has developed between money supply and the availability of goods and services, which has in turn reinforced inflationary processes that are detrimental to the economy. This was bound to generate dissatisfaction among working people—dissatisfaction which our political opponents have tried to exploit for their own ends. Yet unlawful actions of this kind not only do not help solve the urgent problems but, on the contrary, make them worse. Most labor collectives appreciate that strikes are no way out of the situation.

Poles are now pinning great hopes on the new government, whose formation has been entrusted to M. Rakowski. The country also awaits with profound interest the upcoming roundtable meeting involving broad sections of the public who adopt different stances but are prepared for constructive dialogue.

In this complicated situation, the Warsaw PZPR organization, which comprises 137,000 communists, regards its main task as keeping a finger on the pulse of real life, responding keenly to working people's needs, and carrying out energetic explanatory work. It is important to increase the output of goods required by the population and to make optimum use of internal reserves. The Polish capital, after all, plays an exceptionally important role in the country's national economy, and a considerable part of Warsaw enterprises' output goes to export, including to the Soviet Union. The party is seeking to stabilize the internal political situation in the country and to strengthen Poland's authority in the world arena. The trust and support of the CPSU and other fraternal parties and the coincidence of the main goals of the processes of restructuring and renewal in the countries of socialism are a source of great support for us.

Correspondents: How are the economic and internal political difficulties affecting the progress of the renewal process initiated by the PZPR?

Kubasiewicz: Unfortunately, these difficulties are hampering the progress of radical transformations and weakening their impact. This gives the skeptics a pretext for expressing doubts about the success of the crucial reforms. But perhaps precisely because renewal is overcoming serious barriers in its way, the process initiated by the party is gaining momentum, going deeper, and becoming irreversible.

Success will not come automatically: The PZPR as the leading force of Polish society is making enormous efforts to create a sound foundation of beneficial changes. We are not seeking to artificially boost the number of PZPR members. The main thing today is the quality of the militant vanguard. However, since the hopes of renewal are pinned on the party, the capital's party organization was augmented by dozens of new communists even during the difficult days in August. Struggle engenders character and boosts confidence in the rightness of our ideas. We have a vital interest in most Poles' accepting the PZPR's course of revolutionary renewal and supporting it by their actions. The painstaking daily work of Warsaw's communists is directed to that end. We are building socialism, and no difficulties will divert us from that strategic path.

Correspondents: What are the similarities in the tasks Moscow and Warsaw communists are working on during restructuring, and what are the differences?

Kubasiewicz: It would, of course, be better to wait for the end of the exchange of experience and opinions which will take place during the Moscow Days between leaders of the two capitals' party organizations. But I can say right now that there are many points of resemblance. Strenuous work, for example, is being carried out in both Moscow and Warsaw to improve the political system, implement radical economic reform, and democratize all aspects of social life.

Both party organizations, for example, are taking measures during this work to enhance the role and independence of soviets and make them real masters of the territory of their cities. The plans for developing the economy and the methods outlined for solving the housing problem and improving the operation of trade, transport, and municipal services have much in common.

There are also undoubtedly differences generated by specific historical features and the concrete conditions of building socialism. But that is no obstacle to fraternal collaboration based on the unity of the aims of restructuring in the USSR and socialist renewal in Poland. On the contrary, the partners' concerting of their energy and experience guarantees success for both of us.

Correspondents: In what way has the cooperation of our capitals, particularly the city party organizations, been enriched in the last year?

Kubasiewicz: I would say that it has attained a new qualitative level. The 1987-1990 cooperation treaty, signed last year, has played an important role here. Contacts between city and district party committees and the party organizations of enterprises and institutions have grown markedly stronger. I would cite, for example, the expanding ties between Warsaw's Srodmiescie PZPR Committee and the Dzerzhinskiy CPSU Raykom and the party committees of the capitals' railroad junctions. Collaboration between the capitals' councils and trade union, youth, and public organizations are developing successfully. The experience we each bring to bear helps us in drawing up long-term urban planning projects and comprehensive development plans. Moscow and Warsaw trade organizations have agreed on additional, currency-free exchanges of goods.

Direct cooperation among enterprises and institutions is gaining momentum. Ten Warsaw labor collectives have established ties with Soviet partners in the last year. They are exchanging experience in the sphere of technology and in improving working conditions. The exchange of working delegations and groups vacationing in the friendly countries is expanding. Around 200 Warsaw children, for example, spent their summer vacation in the USSR this year and a large group of young Muscovites vacationed in Poland.

Correspondents: What do you think the prospects are for collaboration with Moscow partners in the immediate future?

Kubasiewicz: This summer's visit to Poland by Comrade Gorbachev and his talks with Comrade Jaruzelski laid a sound foundation for further strengthening friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples. The all-around cooperation between the two capitals' communists and working people will become an integral part of this. It will embrace virtually all spheres and help really improve the life of Muscovites and Varsovians.

I am certain that the upcoming meeting of leaders of the capitals' party organizations will give a powerful boost to our ties and enable millions to get involved.

Correspondents: What would you like to wish the participants and spectators in the Moscow Days festival of fraternal friendship in Warsaw?

Kubasiewicz: I would primarily like to express my sincere satisfaction that contacts between the two capitals are now a real, everyday feature of our life. This constitutes a wholly concrete result of our common efforts.

In the days to come Varsovians will be able to be transported, as it were, to your marvelous city and to assess your achievements and get to know your deeds and concerns better—and, of course, to enjoy the skill of your artists and sportsmen. This is a truly remarkable opportunity for us to get to know one another better. I hope all participants and spectators in the festival seize it.

Furthermore, if the ideas of restructuring and renewal and our vast plans are to be implemented, we need peace. So may the sun shine on us both and our energy be directed to creative ends. I wish for health, happiness, and success in all our deeds!

Comparison of Report on Rakowski News Conference

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian on 16 October carries on page 3 a TASS report on the 15 October Warsaw news conference given by Polish Council of Ministers Chairman Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The SELSKAYA ZHIZN report, entitled "Soviet-Polish Cooperation Is a Priority," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 17 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 20, column b, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph three, first sentence reads in SELSKAYA ZHIZN: ...new possibilities for considerably enriching these relations.... (adding "considerably")

Last paragraph reads in SELSKAYA ZHIZN: Dwelling on domestic policy problems, M. Rakowski noted that the approach to constructive opposition is dictated by common sense and awareness of the changes taking place in Polish society and the entire socialist community. It is not a sign of weakness but the result of a realistic assessment of the situation. The idea of the convocation of a "roundtable" is not a political game on the part of the authorities aimed at diverting attention from other problems. The head of the government stressed that the ground for achieving national concord in the country has now been much better prepared. (supplying alternative final paragraph)

CPCZ Plenum 'New Step' in Restructuring

PM1810083388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Stanislav Vtorushin dispatch under the rubric "After the Event": "Impetus of Acceleration"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee Plenum devoted to topical questions of the party's ideological work at the present-day stage has ended in the Czechoslovak capital. It can already be said that its decisions will have a considerable impact on the country's entire sociopolitical and economic life.

The decisions are being discussed by party organizations, labor collectives, and the mass media. Along with ideological issues, the plenum participants discussed a wide range of other problems. In particular, a resolution was adopted to set up a commission to work out the party program, a commission to prepare proposals on submitting changes to the CPCZ statutes, and a commission to draw up a new CSSR constitution. The plenum approved a proposal to set up a committee to lead party work in the Czech Socialist Republic. It was decided to convene the next, 18th, party congress in the first half of 1990. Finally, the plenum adopted a decision on wide-ranging changes to the makeup of CPCZ leading cadres, the CSSR Government, and the Czech and Slovak governments. Five new members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium have been elected and proposals submitted on a new head of government, deputy heads of government, and a whole series of ministerial posts.

In recent years economic growth rates in the CSSR have slowed, the 5-year plan for boosting national income and a number of other indicators has not been fulfilled, and a lag has been recorded in the social sphere. A whole series of party documents has recently stressed the need to further democratize intraparty life, step up the activeness of primary party organizations, and increase the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The CPCZ Central Committee October Plenum essentially adopted a long-term program for ideological work. It entails the intensification of the development of the social sciences, the restructuring of public education, and an enhancement of the role of ideological education and the mass media.

The creation of CPCZ Central Committee commissions will promote the further democratization of the work of the party's leading organ and simultaneously enhance the responsibility of all Central Committee members for adopted decisions. National committees, which are part and parcel of Czechoslovakia's political system, have been allocated a great deal of work in democratizing society.

The plenum decisions will undoubtedly promote the acceleration of the economic reform and the restructuring of the entire national economic administration. A new management and planning system and a new economic incentives mechanism are being created in the Czechoslovak economy.

The opening and closing speeches by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and the report delivered by J. Fojtik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed that the changes taking place in the Soviet Union are having a considerable impact on Czechoslovak Communists.

The CPCZ Central Committee Plenum has been a new step along the road of Czechoslovak restructuring and an important spur to the acceleration of socioeconomic development.

Commission Meets on Cooperation With Bulgaria

PM1410140988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Cooperation Is Strengthening"]

[Text] The 32d session of the Soviet-Bulgarian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation was held 12-13 October in Moscow.

It examined progress in implementing the accords on the most important questions of cooperation secured at the talks between N.I. Ryzhkov and G. Atanasov, chairmen of the USSR and Bulgarian Councils of Ministers, respectively.

The sides discussed the progress of preparations to coordinate the Soviet and Bulgarian plans for the years 1991-1995 and determined the procedure and schedule for carrying out this work at three interconnected levels—at central, planning, and scientific and technical organs; at the sectoral level; and at the level of both countries' economic associations and enterprises.

The commission examined progress in fulfilling reciprocal pledges to supply goods between the USSR and Bulgaria in 1988 and questions of preparing a protocol on commodity turnover between the two countries for next year. It determined methods of joint work to implement the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 in accordance with the decisions of the 44th CEMA session.

The Soviet delegation was headed by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Bulgarian delegation by A. Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of foreign economic relations.

West Europe

Chancellor Kohl Greets Soviet Readers

PM1910091588 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 42, Oct 88 (Signed to Press 13 Oct 88) Special "Federal Republic of Germany" Supplement p 1

["Message From FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA Readers"—EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] Greeting EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA's readers, I would like to express the hope that they will find this supplement useful. It has been designed to inform readers about my country, the FRG, and the present state of relations between our two countries.

In a few days' time I will be arriving in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. M. Gorbachev will pay a return visit in the first half of 1989. This exchange of visits coincides with a period of remarkable changes occurring not only inside your country but also in relations between West and East and especially in relations between our countries.

As I declared in my speech to parliament 18 March 1987, FRG-USSR relations are of key importance for us. Their further development along constructive lines will serve the cause of ensuring peace and expanding dialogue and cooperation in Europe.

We cannot and we must not forget history. At the same time, we must be aware of our responsibility to future generations. This is why I agree with M. Gorbachev that we have turned a new page in our relations. Now this page must be given new content.

People in both countries already sense that positive changes have occurred in FRG-USSR relations. They want to visit one another, to get to know one another, and to exchange experience.

Our cooperation is being built on the solid foundation of treaties. These are primarily the 12 August 1970 Moscow treaty and the agreements on cooperation in the most diverse spheres that have been concluded since 1973. A series of new agreements are due to be concluded.

It seems to me especially important to ensure that political dialogue at summit level gives a new forward impetus to bilateral relations. Therefore, M. Gorbachev and I want to discuss at our meetings this year and next not only common tasks and questions of bilateral relations but also key questions of Europe's future and of coexistence among the peoples, questions which require joint answers.

The economic sphere is assuming growing importance in the expansion of bilateral relations. More intensive economic cooperation promotes stability and predictability in our mutual relations as a whole and contributes to strengthening both countries' national economies. Hitherto the volume of bilateral economic ties has not been in line with the economic might of the FRG and the USSR. There is tremendous untapped potential here, and it ought to be better utilized in the future. During my visit to your country I would like to achieve specific and dynamic positive changes also in the economic sphere.

Representatives of FRG business circles are ready to assimilate new forms of cooperation including joint enterprises, in other words the closest form of economic cooperation. They are aware of their role as the Soviet Union's leading economic partner in the West. FRG industrialists wish to be reliable and efficient partners in modernizing Soviet industry's important sectors, especially consumer goods production, and in opening up new raw material and energy source deposits. They can contribute to the overall improvement of production and the strengthening of the export potential of Soviet industry as a whole. Promising new avenues of cooperation are opening in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, in nuclear reactor safety, and in other sectors of modern technology.

We would like to see enterprises and organizations in both countries taking advantage of the new opportunities and establishing direct contacts. The Federal Government will assist this process wherever it can.

We look on collaboration in high-quality training and the improvement of specialists' and leadership cadres' skills as an opportunity to make a specific contribution to the implementation of economic reform in the USSR.

We place great hopes on the development of scientific and technical cooperation. Our countries have considerable scientific research potential. It must be utilized not only to mutual advantage but also for the good of all mankind.

Our countries are traditionally receptive to the other country's culture and have enriched one another for centuries, maintaining fruitful ties. This creates sound prerequisites for the expansion of cultural exchanges.

Apart from this, personal familiarization with a partner's cultural achievements and the respect which that engenders are important factors in getting rid of stereotypes. It promotes the mutual understanding necessary for peoples to live peacefully together.

The same can be said about closer contacts between our citizens, as for example within the framework of links between cities and the holding of sports competitions. The foundation for such contacts must be laid at an early stage by livelier contacts between school students and young people.

We also attach great importance to cooperation on humanitarian questions.

All FRG citizens follow with great attention the policy of restructuring and of new thinking in Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union's openness resulting from this course will help strengthen trust between West and East.

The Federal Government, for its part, will continue to do everything within its power for further progress along the path of improving the international situation. This applies, by no means last, to questions of disarmament and arms control, where both our countries must strive for the swiftest and most specific advance possible.

I wish the newspaper's readers all the best both in their personal lives and in your country's life.

Further on Visit by Italian Premier De Mita

Ryzhkov Receives Fiat Chairman

LD1510195388 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 15 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR received Giovanni Agnelli, president of the Italian Fiat company, in the Kremlin today.

During the meeting the two sides mentioned a great importance of the current visit by Ciriaco de Mita, chairman of Italy's Council of Ministers, and of the Soviet-Italian talks and meetings these days for further development of mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and Italy.

Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out Fiat company's contribution to the broadening of Soviet-Italian trade-and-economic relations. Some matters concerning the organisation of cooperation in automotive construction were considered.

Taking part in the meeting were Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Nikolay Pugin, the USSR minister of the automobile industry.

Tolstykh at Airport Sendoff

PM1910093588 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 October 1988 Morning Edition front-pages a TASS-attributed report under the heading "Visit Completed" on Italian Prime Minister C. De Mita's departure from Moscow for Leningrad on 16 October.

The report concludes as follows: "The following took part in the sendoff: B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Smirtyukov, USSR Council of Ministers administrator; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A.N. Volkov and V.G. Zakharov, USSR ministers; V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium; V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom; and other officials."

PRAVDA on Leningrad Visit

PM1910075588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "End of Visit"]

[Text] C. de Mita and his wife arrived in Leningrad 16 October.

On Victory Square the guest placed flowers on the monument to the city's heroic defenders.

A luncheon was given in honor of the Italian Council of Ministers chairman on behalf of the Leningrad Gorispolkom.

The guest visited the Hermitage and made an excursion to Pushkin.

In the evening C. de Mita, who was in our country on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership, left the USSR.

C. de Mita and his wife were seen off at the airport by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Soviet, Portuguese Companies' Cooperation Accord

LD1410105588 Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese 2000 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Excerpts] The First "Portugal Week" in the USSR and joint Portuguese-Soviet enterprises are some of the measures provided for in the cooperation agreement signed in Moscow yesterday between the Portuguese Industrial Association [AIP] and the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

On his arrival in Lisbon AIP Chairman Rocha de Matos, the mission's leader, expressed satisfaction at the outcome of the Moscow visit, which was aimed at boosting bilateral economic relations. [Begin Rocha de Matos recording] We have confirmed that there are great changes in the USSR regarding economic relations. I think this is important for us, the businessmen, at this point. It is important to see that the [Soviet] market, which is very big, represents less than 1 percent of our external economic relations. It can be opened up to our businessmen, which is the reason for our exporting activity. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The business mission spent 5 days in the USSR. The group, comprised of various business leaders from several companies, signed cooperation agreements. This was the case with (?Mako), Sorefame, [name indistinct] Centrel [telecommunications concern] and the Viano do Castelo shipyard. The [word Indistinct] is open for economic cooperation between Portugal and the USSR, but there is still much to be done, as Rocha de Matos said. [Begin Rocha de Matos recording] Now we must mobilize our businessmen, because we are only a representative mission of Portuguese businessmen, but there are many others who, because of our new information, will now be trying their chances in a market as vast as the USSR market. [end recording]

Delegation Arrives in UK for Cooperation Talks

LD1610144288 Moscow TASS in English 1430 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] London October 16 TASS—A Soviet delegation led by Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev arrived here today for the 15th session of the permanent intergovernmental Soviet-British commission for scientific, technological, commercial and economic cooperation.

'Historic' Formation of New Turkish Left Party

PM1710093788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev: "United Turkish Communist Party"]

[Text] Bonn, 11 Oct—As the UNSERE ZEIT newspaper reports, the first conference of the United Turkish Communist Party has been held in the Ruhr city of Oberhausen. Thus the process of merging the Turkish Communist Party and the Turkish Workers' Party, announced at a Brussels press conference on 7 October 1987, is complete.

Nikhat Sargyn [name as published] was elected chairman of the United Turkish Communist Party. Haydar Kutlu is general secretary. Both, as is well known, are now under arrest and on trial in their own country—something which is provoking protest throughout the world.

In a greeting to the United Turkish Communist Party H. Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, called the event an historic step which has great political significance both for Turkey's working people and for the international Communist movement.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further on Visit by Brazilian President Sarney

Gorbachev-Sarney Talks

PM1910092988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

["M.S. Gorbachev Meeting With J. Sarney"—PRAVDA headline; talks between M.S. Gorbachev and Brazilian President J. Sarney in Moscow on 18 October]

[Text] [Yesterday, 18 October,] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Jose Sarney, president of Brazil, had a one-to-one conversation which lasted 3 hours. This was the first summit meeting in history between the leaders of the Soviet Union and a major developing state of the Western hemisphere. It took place at a time when both countries, the socialist world and the Latin American community, and the whole of world development is passing through a state of deep changes. It is this which determined the visit's place in the international policy and it was precisely from these positions that very important problems of the present day and Soviet-Brazilian relations were discussed.

Meeting for the first time, the collocuturs considered it essential to acquaint each other with the conceptual bases of their internal and foreign policy. Jose Sarney analyzed in-depth the state of Brazilian society and its prospects. He described the difficult problems and at the same time the country's great possibilities in the world economy and politics, Brazil's role as a major but equal partner in the integrational processes in Latin America.

He substantiated the link between the democratic transformations in the country and its position in international affairs which reflects the national interests, the specific Latin American features and at the same time strives to promote progress and peace as a whole.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted in the Brazlian president's assessments and conclusions much that was similar to what is included in the concept of new thinking. On his part, he gave an extensive description of the deep social, spiritual and moral sources of restructuring and the new thinking; he told of the problems and difficulties of radically renewing Soviet socialist society; he informed the president about the relations between the USSR and several other countries and about the progress of the talks on disarmament questions. In particular he stressed the great importance of improving relations between the USSR and the United States for the improvement of the whole international situation.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Jose Sarney noted with satisfaction the stepping up of the activities of the United Nations in implementing its peace-creating mission.

The comparability of the philosophical interpretation of the contemporary world; the community of assessmens of the nuclear and ecological threat; the laying of stress on the interdepenence of disarmament and develoment; the understanding of the dangerous consequences of unequal world economic links; the role of the exchange of advanced technology for the economic links; the role of the exchange of advanced technology for the economy and policy of various countries and inernational communities and for social progress as a whole; agreement that international econmic relations should be freed from ideological approaches; that respect for national and social differences and freedom of choice and the inclusion of all states in the international processes are the command of the times; that relations in the world should be built on a balance of interests; that the time of the policy of force has passed and the settlement of regional conflicts is possible only by using political means—all of this taken together is evidence of the great level of mutual understanding and is a good theoretical and political groundwork for all-round, mutually advantageous and special [neordinarnyy] cooperation between the USSR and Brazil.

Speaking of the international projection of restructuring—in Sarney's expression—the collucutors noted its positive consequences. The fact that we wish to ennoble our society, Comrade Gorbachev noted in connection with this, is not contrary to anyone's interests. The president shared his thoughts about the intensification of economic relations between East and South. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev agreed that great reserves exist here for the normalization of the whole system of world economic links. True, we have not yet really grasped them. The idea is worth being fundamentally worked on and jointly discussed.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Jose Sarney exchanged opinions about the declaration on the principles of collaboration for peace and international cooperation which they are to sign. They agreed that it would be of outstanding importance not only for determining the new level of Soviet-Brazilian relations; it is a contribution to the international process, an example of the principles on which friendly links can be built between such different states of the contemporary world.

An important part of the discussion was the discussion in principle of the prospects and opportunities for bilateral economic, scientific-technical, cultural exchange, its specific content and new forms.

In conclusion Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Jose Sarney expressed deep satisfaction with the conversation which really showed the will and readiness to build a firm bridge of cooperation while remaining in adherence to the interests of one's own countries, one's obligations to others, to one's own sociopolitical choice and way of life.

Diplomats Presented to Sarney

LD1810204288 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—A presentation of heads of diplomatic missions of foreign countries accredited in the USSR to President Jose Sarney of Brazil staying in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government was held in the Kremlin today.

Ambassadors and charges d'affairs ad interim were presented to the president of Brazil by Vladimir Chernyshov, head of the Protocol Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Gorbachev Dinner Speech

PM1910101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

["In a Friendly Atmosphere"—PRAVDA headline; speech by M.S. Gorbachev at an 18 October Kremlin dinner for Brazilian President J. Sarney]

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—A dinner was given for President Jose Sarney of Brazil and his wife in the Kremlin today on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made the following speech at the dinner:

Esteemed Mr. President,

Esteemed Mrs. Sarney.

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades,

It is with good feelings that we greet you here, in the Moscow Kremlin, once again. This visit by the president of the Federative Republic of Brazil is the first ever by a Brazilian head of state to the Soviet Union. It is important by itself, above all to both our countries.

Yet it also has international significance, fitting in as it does with the context of the landmark events determining the watershed nature of world development.

In your person, Mr. President, we greet the leader of one of the major countries in the world, a nation of a distinctive culture, original history, dynamic present and open future.

We greet a representative of a whole continent whose democratic rebirth is becoming an ever more weighty factor in the world community.

In the very beginning of Brazil's independent existence the Russians showed an unusual interest in your remote and then mysterious country. In 1821-29 the Petersburg Academy of Sciences organized a unique expedition there.

Led by Academician Langsdorf, it covered 16,000 kilometers, including difficult-to-access parts of Brazil, and gathered most interesting material on its ethnography, flora and fauna.

Three remarkably designed volumes describing the expedition were recently brought out, marking a significant cultural event.

It is apparently there that the invariably friendly spirit between our peoples is rooted. The USSR and Brazil were allies in the battle with German fascism and were together involved in creating the United Nations.

I think it is not a happenstance that this visit is taking place now. It is a result of the new processes in the world having been given a thoughtful look, even if from different corners of the world community.

It is connected with the fact that both our countries have, each in its own way and, of course, in conditions totally unlike the other's, embarked on efforts to reach new objectives in the interests of their peoples and of a fair and peaceful future for all.

We came to this summit meeting by convergent routes as we have realized that the state of our relations no longer meets either the possibilities of our two countries or their role in world affairs.

The practical steps taken by both sides to prepare this meeting have paid off.

Brazil's turn for democracy has been welcomed in the Soviet Union. It has represented a powerful factor in a general tendency typical of Latin Anmerica over recent years.

The decisive popular "no" to the dictatorship in Chile has reflected it graphically.

The relationship between concern for regional security, the enhancement of democratic institutions, economic growth and a desire to facilitate improvement in the world situation has come to show distinctly in the political process in Latin America.

Preserving peace indeed presupposes the peoples' free self-determination, non-interference in the domestic affairs of nations, the resolution of international issues without use of force and threats, and equal cooperation.

This position has been reflected in the Acapulco declaration. And we are satisfied to note that it has much in common with our concept of all-embracing security.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, which became possible as a result of new thinking, has helped begin to open up the prospect of breaking the vicious circle of a power politics game in which there inevitably should be "friends" and "enemies."

We want this step of principle to be naturally followed by other major actions, most notably cuts in strategic arms.

Disarmament and the removal of the nuclear threat are the turnpike to a civilized coexistence of nations.

In this connection, Mr President, I would like to subscribe without any qualifications to your idea that disarmament is the supreme humanism of the times.

Guided by the same approach, the USSR has voted in the United Nations for a Brazilian-sponsored resolution on establishing a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic.

Your appeal from the UN podium to preserve the boundless sky as the frontier never to be crossed by weapons has been highly appreciated both in this country and in other countries.

Really, we should enter the third millennium not with space arms but with tangible achievements in the peaceful development of space for the benefit of all.

May the agreement which will be signed tomorrow become our first joint contribution to fulfilling this universal task.

Lifting regional tensions is a call of the times. This year has ben marked by serious progress in this painful issue for the world community.

The Soviet Union hails resumed efforts towards a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict. The tight knot there can and should be undone.

One essential feature of the shaping new situation is that ever new actors are making it to the foreground of world politics.

And this is happening not by edging out those who have been there for long but by forming a new cast. As a result, the world is moving not to a multipole environment, but to a pluralism which is natural for the new times, presupposes equality and can only be realized on the basis of balanced interests.

This is, strictly speaking, exactly what we mean when speaking about democratizing international relations. This has as yet been nothing more than a trend, but more and more states and peoples are following it.

New political thinking means realizing general interdependence in the economy as well. Our concept of international economic security is comparable to the Brazilian concept of collective economic security.

We are struck by your ideas on the growing significance of East-South economic relations - without any ideological prejudice and on a modern basis. They could be the locomotive behind efforts to create a new fair world economic order. Related problems deserve a serious joint study.

Diarmament and the conversion of outsize military production are the decisive conditon for beginning practically to tackle this global task as well as for overcoming the one-trillion-dollar debt of developing nations.

The peoples have become ever more keenly aware of the ecological threat. Scientists are warning: The increasing destruction of nature is comparable to the effects of a nuclear war. We and you should be worried about this also for the following specific reason.

The planet's two largest forest tracts, which form a significant part of its "lungs", are located in the territories of the Soviet Union and Brazil, namely in Siberia and the Amazon River Basin.

Preserving them in conditions where these vast regions are being developed is our common duty both before the people of our countries and before mankind.

We see this as one promising area of both bilateral and international cooperation.

Mr. President, I began my speech with a look at the history of our relations. And today we are ushering in, one can say, a new phase in contacts between our countries.

The possibilities of economic cooperation between the USSR and Brazil with their comprehensive natural resources, tremendous potentials and eagerness for accelerated economic progress are infinite.

Exchanges of licences and advanced technologies and cooperative arrangements in production, including those in the consumer goods and food industries, are possible and expedient. It is worth working on them and laying the groundwork for longterm cooperation. It would guard us against the vagaries of the market.

The possibility of launching joint Soviet-Brazilian ventures is attractive. The USSR is prepared to cooperate in developing promising technologies and looking for alternative energy sources, including thermonuclear fusion.

Getting to know each other through culture represents a immense reserve for drawing closer to each other, for mutual understanding and trust. Works by Brazilian authors, especially Jorge Amado, are, by the way, held in high esteem in this country.

They have been published in the USSR in millions of copies. Soviet readers have showed an interest in your book "A Legend About a Black Horse", which has been brought out in Russian this year, Mr. President, as well.

The name of outstanding Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer, who has exercised definite influence also on Soviet architectural thinking, is widely known.

Mr. President, we are glad that, expressing the will of Brazil in your approach to fundamental international problems, you take stands which are consonant with ours and are involved in asserting a new style of communication between countries and peoples.

Wishing you success in your ambitious undertakings for the benefit of your people, I would like to express confidence that the development of friendly relations between our countries will help affirm the civilized principles of the future world.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people, I extend to you, your wife and all our Brazilian guests my sincere and friendly greetings once again and ask for the best wishes of progress and well-being to be conveyed to the people of Brazil.

Leaders Attend Dinner

LD1810192388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] A dinner was given tonight in honor of the president of Brazil and his wife, on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the Grand Kremlin Palace. The Brazilian state figures accompanying the president on his tour attended the dinner. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his wife and Comrades Medvedev,

Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Lukyanov, and other officials were pesent on the Soviet side. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Jose Sarney made speeches. The dinner took place in a friendly atmosphere. The speeches by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Jose Sarney were greeted with applause. The text of the speeches will be published in the press.

Shevardnadze Meets Brazil's Sodre

PM1910111388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Affability"]

[Text] On 18 October E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met with R. Sodre, Brazilian foreign minister, who is accompanying Brazilian President Jose Sarney on his official visit to the Soviet Union.

E.A. Shevardnadze and R. Sodre stressed the exceptional significance of the conversation and talks between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, with Brazilian President J. Sarney in terms of widening and deepening the constructive political dialogue between the two countries and also of the comprehensive development of Soviet-Brazilian relations.

There was a principled exchange of opinions on key international and regional problems and also on questions of bilateral ties. In the context of the subject of international security the sides advocated the activation of multilateral dialogue on disarmament, particularly in the sphere of the speediest achievement of a nuclear test ban, the nonmilitarization of space, and the conclusion of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons. The ministers noted that the move in interstate relations away from distrust and confrontation toward talks and mutual understanding, which is an expression of the new political thinking, must become a stable trend.

During the examination of regional issues it was noted that the settlement of the situation in Central America must be carried out within the framework of the Guatemala accords with the active participation of Latin American countries.

Having stated with satisfaction the coincidence or proximity of Soviet and Brazilian positions on the matters under discussion, the sides were unanimous that this creates a basis and real opportunities for more dynamic development of Soviet-Brazilian relations in various spheres and for widening and deepening collaboration in international affairs. In this connection both sides put forward some new ideas which were received with mutual interest and expressed an intention to take steps to implement them.

The conversation took place in an atmosphere of affability [dobroserdechnost] and businesslike discussion.

Sarney Interviewed Before Visit

PM1710105788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with President Jose Sarney of Brazil by IZVESTIYA political observer Vitaliy Korotich in Brasilia: "USSR-Brazil: Good Prospects. President Jose Sarney of Brazil Replies to IZVESTIYA's Questions"—date of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] I am quite familiar with the Alvorada Palace, the personal residence of Brazil's president. I already had an opportunity, more than 25 years ago, to interview a president there. The palace is still the same. But Brazil—as well as our own country and the rest of the world—is quite different. This became manifest also in the course of the detailed conversation I had, as a representative of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and of IZVESTIYA, with President Jose Sarney of Brazil and in his answers to the newspaper's questions. Here are these questions and answers.

Question. In a few days' time you will begin an official visit to the USSR. There has been a substantial expansion of Soviet-Brazilian relations in the recent past. What place does your visit have in this process? What would you like to say to Soviet people on the eve of the visit?

Answer. This visit to the USSR is primarily graphic proof of my government's serious approach to the development of ties between our countries. This will be the first visit by a Brazilian head of state to the Soviet Union. My visit symbolizes the growing rapprochement between our countries. Its purpose is primarily to raise Soviet-Brazilian relations to the level appropriate to their capacity and potential.

Important changes occurred in both Brazil and the Soviet Union in 1985. This made it possible to significantly expand bilateral ties. In this context we ought to recall the visit by Brazil's former Foreign Minister Olavo Setubal to the USSR and by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Brazil. We also ought to recall the important documents which were signed during those visits. They are the cultural cooperation agreement and the agreement on the long-term program for economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation.

The present state of our relations is distinguished by a dynamism which ought to increasingly intensify for the benefit of both countries. Important steps will be taken during my visit, and new initiatives will be put forward which will not only give broader scope to Soviet-Brazilian relations but will also transform them, in international terms, into a model of mutual relations between states at a different level of development and with different systems. I am confident that by creatively and persistently working in this direction we will manage to utilize the broad opportunities lying ahead.

I am looking forward with great interest to the forthcoming talks with Mikhail Gorbachev. The changes taking place in the Soviet Union, which affect both domestic and foreign policy, are an indicator of the dynamism of the process unfolding under M.S. Gorbachev's leadership. I assert without a shadow of a doubt that the USSR's policy has helped to ease international tension and to create conditions favorable for peace and security.

For its own part, Brazil has striven to steadily guide its constructive foreign policy toward solving the main problems and overcoming the political and economic instability which threatens peace and international security. We discovered that our viewpoints coincide on many questions. I hope that M.S. Gorbachev and I will succeed in deepening this coincidence and in studying the possibility of engaging in joint actions in spheres of interest to both countries and to the international community.

I would like to tell the Soviet people that the visit to the USSR is a great honor for me and gives me a sense of satisfaction. I would also like to convey the Brazilians' friendly feelings toward Soviet people and to express my confidence that cooperation between Brazil and the USSR will grow further for the sake of our peoples' prosperity and flourishing.

Question. Brazil's new constitution came into force 5 October. What is this document's importance for your country?

Answer. When I took over the office of president in March 1985, I promised to ensure an open, public [glasnoye], and profoundly democratic rule corresponding with the Brazilian people's fundamental aspirations.

Especially great hopes were placed on, among other things, the creation of a new structure of the country's political institutions. It was for this purpose that I convened a National Constituent Assembly which ended its work 5 October.

Brazil's population confirmed its interest by its active participation in the elaboration of the new document, sending in suggestions, and carefully following the course of discussions. At this stage I was made responsible for ensuring peace and tranquility so that the drafters of the constitution could successfully complete their great labor.

The new constitution reflects an historical stage in Brazil's democratization. It is an important code of agreements which was the result of lengthy talks and became possible through reconciliation of the positions of groups with different interests in the political, legal, economic, social, cultural, and administrative spheres. It contains important and innovative propositions. The country places great hopes on the advantages which the new text of the constitution can ensure for the Brazilian society's political, economic, and social development.

At present it is not worth raising again the question of possible flaws in this text. Now that the constitution has been adopted, it must be implemented by all citizens. As far as I am concerned, I will be its most zealous implementer and loyal defender. All my actions will be aimed at transforming the new constitution into the so urgently needed instrument for asserting modern democracy in our country.

Question. Brazil's voice can be heard increasingly loudly. It is becoming one of the world's leading industrial states even though, as we know, considerable difficulties have to be overcome along this path. How do you perceive the horizons of Brazil's socioeconomic development?

Answer. Brazil has indeed achieved tangible results in the socioeconomic sphere. The economic growth achieved during the 3 years of my rule has been 21 percent, in other words we have maintained a historical annual growth of 7 percent. Our economic programs, even though they have not produced the attainment of all desirable goals, have already ensured the country's broadest ever distribution of incomes with an ensuing improvement in the population's living conditions. Grain production has increased appreciably from 50 million to 65 million tonnes. Our foreign trade is in a state of permanent dynamism: Brazil is third in the world, after Japan and the FRG, in terms of revenues from foreign trade turnover.

We are still encountering a number of difficulties typical of developing countries, like the curtailment of financial inflows from outside and manifestations of protectionism by industrially developed states, which has an adverse effect on our efforts aimed at developing the Brazilian economy. Inflation is another major problem. My government's attention is focused primarily on this and it is taking serious measures to reduce the budget deficit—the main cause of the growth of inflation.

I must add that, on taking over as president, I came up against the grave problem of the world's largest external debt and the tremendous tension caused by it. We experienced a critical time in February 1987, when we were forced to cease paying interest to private foreign creditors so as to preserve our foreign currency reserves. Following lengthy and complex talks, we recently normalized relations with the world financial community. The treaty we signed is possibly the best ever signed by a debtor country and reflects the international recognition of the Brazilian economy's viability. But this does not remove the problem of the urgently needed review of the world economic order. This demand is being persistently raised by my government as fundamental for making fair long-term decisions on the external debt problem.

The prospects for the development of the world economy will remain gloomy for the developing countries unless the appropriate structural changes are implemented. It is important to ensure that all countries, regardless of the

level of their development and their system, pool their efforts and jointly implement the transformations which are so necessary for the world community.

Question. Brazil is an inalienable part of Latin America. How do you assess the present stage of the Latin American continent's development?

Answer. My government is perfectly well aware that Brazil's future is closely linked with the future of Latin America. Apart from geographical proximity, we and the Latin American countries are linked by a broad range of similarities in politics, the economy, culture, and social life.

We also share certain basic difficulties which are currently obstructing the process of our development. They are the protectionist barriers hindering access by our export commodities to the markets of developed countries; the decline in world prices for raw materials exported by the region's countries; the reduced inflow of foreign capital which would supplement internal resources earmarked for financing economic growth; the pressure related to the external debt....

All these factors encourage the Latin American countries to constructively and responsibly coordinate their efforts in the international arena aimed at overcoming the braking effect on their development. An example of this is provided by last year's Acapulco meeting of presidents (from Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Panama). It will be followed by another meeting, this time in Uruguay, to be held immediately following my return from the USSR.

We are striving just as much to create new prospects for cooperation and development via integration measures on a bilateral and multilateral basis. In this context, let me mention the agreements between Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. Initially based on bilateral accords in certain spheres, they will strive to gradually expand this cooperation, extending it to new spheres and involving new countries in it. In certain respects this experience can be compared with the process in Europe which culminated in the creation of the "Common Market."

Latin America today is aware that it must seek internally the resources needed for its development. I always say that we can no longer expect remedial aid from outside. Our future will depend on the effectiveness of our ability for integration and cooperation.

Comparison of Sarney's Arrival

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 19 October 1988 carries in its Morning Edition on page 1 a TASS-attributed report on Brazilian President J. Sarney's arrival in Moscow on 17 October and his subsequent activities. The IZVESTIYA report, entitled "Official Visit," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow PRAVDA version published in the 18 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 48, revealing the following variations:

Column a

Paragraph two, sole sentence through paragraph three, first sentence, reads in IZVESTIYA: ...with his wife.

The following also took part in the meeting: Z.K. Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.N. Volkov, USSR minister; A.N. Aksenov, chairman of a USSR State Committee; K.N. Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister; Ye.F. Ivanovskiy and V.N. Chernavin, USSR deputy defense ministers; L.F. Kuzmin, Soviet ambassador to Brazil; V.I. Chernyshev, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Protocol Department; and other officials.

R.M. Sardenberg, Brazilian ambassador to the Soviet Union, was among those present.

The Brazilian and... (adding paragraphs)

Column b

First paragraph, sole sentence through to end reads in IZVESTIYA: ...the government box.

On 18 October J. Sarney laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall. He paid his respects to the memory of the Soviet servicemen who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism and for the freedom and happiness of all peoples by standing for a minute in silence.

The president was accompanied by Z.K. Kamalidenov and other officials... (adding paragraphs)

Nicaraguan Emergency Measures Viewed

PM1410155088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[P. Bogomolov "International Notes": "In Defiance of Aggression"]

[Text] Recent days have been marked by important events in the political life of revolutionary Nicaragua. After fierce debates in the Republic's National Assembly, a law on a state of emergency was adopted by a majority of votes. It gives the president the right to resort if necessary to harsh measures of an administrative nature over the country's entire territory or on any individual part of it, without consultation with the legislative powers.

Moreover the Sandinist government has adopted a decision to take court proceedings against the main mouthpiece of the right-wing opposition forces—the newspaper LA PRENSA—for spreading disinformation and outright lies.

Provision is made for state intervention in the work of private enterprises whose owners deliberately disrupt production and deliveries of output both for the domestic market and for export. Government control measures have previously been implemented with regard to one of the republic's biggest sugar refineries, at San Antonio.

An official ban has been imposed on all forms of direct or indirect finance for Nicaraguan enterprises, organizations, and private individuals from American sources. The urgency of this decision by Managua in the light of the undeclared war and the Washington trade embargo is indicated by instances that have become known of the transfer of large sums in American dollars to LA PRENSA and to certain opposition parties.

The nature of the decisions and measures adopted in Managua in a comparatively short space of time is certainly uncompromising. Are the present bans compatible with the policy of national reconciliation and equal dialogue among all legal political forces operating in the country?

The point is, however, that comparatively tough notes in Nicaragua's domestic policy have become essential. The Managua government has had to make these changes in the atmosphere of a growing threat of the sharp exacerbation of the undeclared war unleashed against the republic by the White House with the help of the Somozaist rebels. According to reports from Washington the republican administration is nurturing plans for supplying weapons and ammunition worth a total of $16.5 million to contra groupings. At the same time the "dry season" is approaching, when the formations of the so-called "Nicaraguan resistance" usually become most active in the northern and central regions of the country.

In this strained situation forces hostile to the Nicaraguan revolutionary government act increasingly brazenly. Their arsenal includes subversion, provocation, sabotage, and the spreading of panic rumors. Is it surprising that in these critical conditions the Nicaraguan authorities are adopting additional safeguards?! Armed and economic aggression are met by the force of revolutionary law and the determination of the working people to stop the country from slipping into the abyss of chaos and disorder.

The republic's foreign policy, which is not only peace-loving, but increasingly dynamic and active, also accords with the aims of normalizing the situation. Thus the other day Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto proposed to the UN secretary general that an urgent meeting be held with the participation of a Honduran representative, to discuss the question of setting up an international mechanism to ensure the security of the borders between the two Central American countries. Despite its enemies' predictions, the Sandinist government has by no means rejected the idea of setting up international peacekeeping forces in the region under the UN flag. On the contrary, long-suffering Nicaragua, which has already lost more than 50,000 of its sons and daughters in the "undeclared war," has a vital interest in using any levers that could really help to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Moscow Radio on Relations With Panama

LD1410212288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Excerpts] The USSR's decision to accede to the protocol on the treaty on the permanent neutrality and functioning of the Panama Canal, signed by the United States and Panama in 1977, has struck a deep chord in Panama. Here's our correspondent Bronislav Myakota [passage omitted]:

[Myakota] The U.S. ambassador in Panama has adopted what to me seems a somewhat odd stance on our country's decision. A U.S. spokesman hastened to interpret this step by the Soviet Government as little short of recognition of the U.S. right to carry out an armed invasion of Panama. Evidently there are some across the ocean who are concerned by the growing authority our country wields among the Panamanians, who of late have been speaking out more and more frequently in favor of establishing normal diplomatic relations between Panama and the Soviet Union.

CPSU Delegation Returns From Peru

PM1710114588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "CPSU Delegation Returns"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by N.S. Igrunov, second secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, returned to Moscow on 15 October having attended the celebrations to mark the Peruvian Communist Party's 60th anniversary.

Political & Social

Academy of Sciences Holds General Meeting

Marchuk Delivers Report

PM1910103088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Restructuring Dictates the Priorities: General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] A general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences opened in Moscow on 18 October in an atmosphere of keen responsibility for an important area of restructuring. The meeting is devoted to the academy's tasks arising from the 19th all-union party conference decisions.

G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who delivered the report, stressed that in effect some 400 academicians and corresponding members played an active part in the preparations for this scientists' forum by responding to a questionnaire from the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and expressing their opinions on the standard of fundamental research in various areas of research. The common demoninator in these authoritative assessments is, one may say, the thesis that the Academy of Sciences is called upon to make a weighty contribution to the renewal process and to strengthen the theoretical foundations of the social reorientation of economic development.

The speaker devoted great attention in this connection to theoretical support for the changes taking place in the economy and in public life. He numbered among the most important and topical tasks carried out by the economics department the draft general outline of the USSR's socioeconomic development for the period through 2005 drawn up by the academy in conjunction with the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Gosplan. The main goal set in the document is the transition to a fundamentally new state of Soviet society in the next 15 years.

At the same time, in the opinion of the economists themselves, they have not yet faced up to the practical needs of the day, and there is a lack of sufficiently full, integral, concrete, and scientifically substantiated proposals for an entire system of management incorporating a cost-cutting mechanism. Economic science is still only poorly integrated with planning and economic activity in general. Yet the academy was given important, up-to-date instructions on the basis of the results of the all-union party conference.

The president of the academy also dwelt on science's tasks in developing the concept of a rule-of-law state. The practice of our day, he stressed, indicates the need to constantly widen and enrich citizens' rights and freedoms, increase their economic and social security, and improve the level of legal protection. That is why lawyers must get down to tackling the conceptual aspect of the status of citizen. The reform of the political system and restructuring of political relations and the mechanisms governing them is also a task for social scientists, including political scientists—a new detachment of scientists united in an interesting and very promising area of scientific study.

Our historical science, the speaker went on to say, was most affected by the destructive effects of stagnation, and it alone can hardly be held responsible for the distortions and "blanks" in the country's history. Nonetheless, historians have no right to delay in creating works that cover the turning points in the country's history in a new way. Questions of research into the real state of ethnic relations and the study of ways of overcoming ethnic contradictions in the context of the deepening process of democratization have also patently suffered neglect.

Restructuring has made new demands on the philosophical sciences. There have been decisive improvements both in the study of the dialectics of present-day socialism and in substantiating the supremacy of common human values. Human problems are thus becoming a cardinal theme in Soviet social science. In the course of implementating the recently adopted academy program "Man, Science, Society," philosophers are to analyze anew a number of problems posed by life. Chief among them is that of overcoming man's alienation from social structures in the economy and other spheres of public life.

The speaker analyzed the standard of fundamental research in the scientific spheres that were noted in the report at the all-union party conference as areas determining the competitiveness of our economy.

Among the areas of research on which the standard of computer technology depends directly, the president of the academy mentioned new methods of obtaining ultrapure substances and materials and the study of thin films, monocrystals, and polycrystalline materials.

In the sphere of machine building the academy has done good groundwork in a number of areas of mechanics and control processes. But in many priority spheres, such as high velocity aerodynamics, turbulence theory, and computer modeling of dynamic systems, there is a lag in relation to world standards. The speaker reported that the academy has already taken the first steps to strengthen the technical thrust of research in its scientific centers and branches.

Fundamental research in the sphere of new materials is very closely associated with topical questions of the development of machine building. It is here, the speaker stressed, that a real battle to hold on to our positions in world economics and technology has broken out. In the majority of the industrially developed countries chemical products account for 12-15 percent of gross product.

In the USSR this indicator is only half that level, although the scientific groundwork exists for progress. Everything must be done to encourage research into the chemical synthesis of new substances and materials. Here it is extremely important to assign priority to energy-saving and resource-saving technologies, the drastic lessening of the ecological dangers of production, and the comprehensive utilization of raw materials.

In bioengineering, Soviet scientists are the acknowledged leaders in a number of areas, in particular questions of the regulation of protein synthesis, bioenergetics, and radiation bioengineering. At the same time the shortage of modern equipment and the poor standard of laboratory equipment is leading to the loss of one position after another for our biologists.

The speaker went on to analyze a wide range of issues connected with improving the management of the academy's activity, activating the regional centers of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and coordinating research with republican academies of sciences. Such important problems as the introduction of economic accountability in scientific institutions, the stepping up of the process of bringing in younger people as leading scientific cadres, the reorganization of the central management apparatus, and the establishment of the principles of democratization and self-management in scientific collectives were submitted for wide discussion. The president called on the academy members to hold a constructive, keen discussion.

Supplementary reports were then delivered by Academicians V.N. Kudryavtsev and A.G. Aganbegyan.

The following took part in the work of the USSR Academy of Sciences general meeting: V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology; and A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department.

The meeting will last 3 days.

Leadership Changes Coming

LD1810151088 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—TASS special correspondents report:

Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, announced today that the academy's leadership will be renewed by half. He spoke here at the academy's general meeting which is dealing with the accomplishment of tasks set to the scientists by the 19th all-union party conference in summer this year.

The academy's president said that younger scientists—nine new members of the Presidium and five new vice presidents—would be incorporated into the leadership of the Academy of Sciences to succeed a number of prominent scientists of venerable age. They are to be elected democratically by the participants in this meeting.

Guriy Marchuk pointed out that the current year had been marked by cardinal changes in the academy's personnel policy. Seventeen directors of institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 29 deputy directors, and more than 250 laboratory chiefs had quit their positions on the grounds of age. The question of a maximum term of office for institute director remains under discussion so far.

The Presidium of the academy suggested that the term be ten years. Many scientists disagree with that, arguing that such a term is too short for the realisation of big research programmes. Others declare for a more rapid rotation of personnel at this level.

Guriy Marchuk emphasized that this year's endorsement of a statute on democratisation and electivity of executives of all levels proved important for raising the level of research and for its better organization.

The academician moved that the meeting discuss the question of large-scale introduction of the contract form of inviting scientists to do research for a term of three-five years for the accomplishment of a definite task. He spoke out in favour of giving opportunity to scientists to set up advisory and introduction cooperatives.

The academy's president said that from 1989 the entire research done at the academy and institutions of higher learning of the country is to switch over to a new form of financing. Concrete scientific subjects and programmes will be financed, and not institutes, as previously was the case.

All institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences will get at their full disposal 30 percent, on an average, of the aggregate amount of their budget appropriations. These funds will be distributed on the basis of competition between research collectives.

From next year onwards, assignments for the implementation of state scientific and technical programmes will be also distributed on a competitive basis among research organizations. The assignments will be financed by ministries and departments from their own funds.

New International Branch Formed

LD1810195988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 Oct (TASS)—The USSR Academy of Sciences (AS) at its general meeting today formed a new branch: Problems of World Economy and International Relations. It comprises 4 full and 11 corresponding members of the USSR AS.

As a TASS correspondent was told in an interview with Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, acting academician secretary of the new branch, this subdepartment is intended to unite the efforts of scientists from internationally oriented academic institutes: the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, the Institute of the USA and Canada, the Institute of the International Workers' Movement, the Institute of Europe, the Institute of Eastern Studies, the Institute of Africa, and the Institute of Latin America.

"The new branch is necessary because special significance has started to be given in the USSR to problems in the world economy and international relations," said the scientist. He noted the need for a deeper scientific interpretation of world economic processes because they exert a substantial influence on the USSR's socioeconomic development. "The time has gone when the positive influence of [words indistinct] countries on the USSR was denied in the Soviet Union as were the possibilities of making use of foreign experience. Of course, because of the differences between socialist and capitalist economic structures, not everything can be utilized on our soil. But it is the duty of Soviet scientists to make the maximum attentive and realistic evaluation of foreign experience, and of the possibility to apply it in the USSR," he noted.

Dealing with problems of international relations, which will be within the purview of the new branch, Academician Primakov [words indistinct] primarily the study of the combination of class and (?overall human) interests in the peace movement, and the present processes of disarmament and the solution of regional conflicts.

Aganbegyan Addresses Academy

LD1910002388 Moscow TASS in English 0008 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—"The USSR is to introduce a new price setting system, to pass from the centralized distribution of material resources to the creation of a market of the means of production, and to trim by 30-50 per cent the management apparatus by 1991", Abel Aganbegyan, academician-secretary of the Economic Division of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said at the general meeting of the academy.

Relations of lease should be widely spread in the economy, he noted. A transition is to be made from the system, for which the permanently emerging shortage of various types of goods and services and also the dictate of the producer of goods are typical, to the economy which meets to the maximum extent the consumer demand. Before implementing the ripe price reform, it is necessary that the market be saturated with consumer goods and prices be brought into line with the spending. However, the reform should necessarily envisage compensation payments to the population and should be carried out only after an extensive democratic discussion.

"The Soviet economy now enters the difficult stage of development when elements of the new management mechanism will go side by side with old economic levers", Aganbegyan said. "Sixty per cent of industrial plants are known to have begun operation on the pay-your-own-way principles since the beginning of the current year. All enterprises of the production sphere will be switched to operation under new conditions starting from the new year. However, old prices, previous forms of material and technical supply and the five-year plan drawn up before the new forms of economic management were introduced remain".

The principal task to be accomplished in the next three years is to intensify the economic growth. Earlier, industries developed along extensive lines which required increasing energies and funds. To take the country out of this stalemate, it is necessary that scientific-technical progress be sharply accelerated and the production sphere, primarily engineering, be updated.

If in 1985 3.1 per cent of antiquated and low-efficiency types of engineering industry products were removed from production, in 1987 this figure rose to 9 per cent and in 1990 this indicator is planned to be brought to 13 per cent. To raise the renewal degree for industrial output, it is necessary that prices be strictly differentiated depending on its quality, and local standards made to match world ones.

Rumored Leadership, Journal Changes Considered

PM1810154688 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 16 Oct 88 p 11

[Giulietto Chiesa dispatch: "Falin Promoted to International Department. Zagladin to be CPSU Chief's Adviser?"]

[Text] Moscow—The "revolution" in the Soviet leadership continues apace. Valentin Falin, for some time identified as a winning "horse," is promoted to chief of the Central Committee International Department. According to unofficial rumors, Vadim Zagladin will become Gorbachev's personal adviser. There are also changes at the top of some influential journals.

As the "mystery" surrounding Yegor Ligachev's absence from the public scene continues (he was last seen at the Supreme Soviet session that elected Gorbachev president), the reorganization of the central apparatus continues at full speed. There is already a new chief of the Central Committee International Department—Valentin Falin, hitherto director of APN. This "promotion" is no surprise. Indeed, Falin has become increasingly prominent recently, having long been in the shadows. Having been ambassador to the FRG, he was recalled to Moscow to become one of the deputy chiefs of the International Information Department and subsequently

demoted (under Andropov) to a mere—albeit excellent—political commentator for IZVESTIYA. His appointment as head of APN was interpreted as a recovery, now spectacularly confirmed.

Both first deputy chiefs of the same department are also changed. Vadim Zagladin and Georgiy Korniyenko are now replaced by Karen Brutents (former deputy chief, one of the top experts on the Middle East, and frequently Mikhail Gorbachev's envoy on the most delicate missions) and I. Fedorov, one of Vadim Medvedev's deputies in the former Department for Relations with the Socialist Countries, now absorbed by the "reformed" International Department. According to still unofficial rumors, Vadim Zagladin, for many years first deputy chief—first under Ponomarev, then under Dobrynin—is now to become personal adviser to President of the Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev, thus leaving the Central Committee apparatus for that of the government and joining Anatoliy Chernyayev, currently Gorbachev's foreign policy aide on the Central Committee.

Other components of the new structure are also falling into place. The new propaganda chief has been named: Aleksandr Kapto, a 55-year-old Ukrainian, on the CPSU Central Committee since the 27th congress, and former Kiev Gorkom secretary. Yuriy Voronov, former culture chief, leaves the Central Committee apparatus—to become editor of the most important political-cum-literary weekly, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, whose ultra-conservative editor, Chaykovskiy, is retiring. Another significant appointment is the editor of the most influential Soviet economic journal, VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, now Gavriil Popov, one of the economists most outspokenly committed to reform. However, the whirl of appointments and moves has only just begun and there will be no lack of surprises in the days ahead.

Further Reportage on Congress of Physicians

Chazov on 'Shortcomings'

LD1710103288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Excerpts] The All-Union Congress of Physicians opened in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses today. [passage omitted]

Acadmician Chasov, USSR minister of health, delivered a report at the congress. He said, among things:

[Begin Chazov recording] Comrade delegates. The Soviet health care system is currently going through a complex and difficult stage in its history. The party, the state, and our society have directed sharp and just criticism against the state of the people's health protection, the work done by the health care bodies, and the lack of responsibility, indifference, low level of professionalism, and bribe-taking which exist in medical circles. It is natural to ask where the roots of these shortcomings lie.

Where, when, and at what stage in the evolution of the Soviet health care system did the adverse phenomena responsible for the appearance of these shortcomings arise? Above all, as far back as the thirties, Lenin's principle of giving priority to our society's social development was forgotten. The slogan "Everything for man, everything for his welfare" in many ways turned out to be a slogan which was not underpinned by concrete deeds. The health care system was allocated any resources remaining after the needs of the other spheres of our society had been satisfied. Even if, instead of basing our assessment of the financing of the people's health protection on indices relating to the share of the national income spent on health care, as is the practice in all countries of the world—among which we come somewhere between 60th and 70th—we assess the share of the state budget spent for such purposes, it turns out that over the last 25 years that share has fallen steadily. It is only since the 27th party congress, which boldly and objectively uncovered the phenomena alien to socialism which have held up the development of our society's social sphere, that health care has given priority development in practice rather than in words. [end recording]

A debate has now begun at the congress.

Editorial on 'Forthrightness' in Elections

PM1810155788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Party Organizations Are Taking A Rigorous Examination Today in the Implementation of Restructuring in the Course of the Reports and Elections"]

[Text] The present report and election campaign in party organizations is marked by particular frankness, forthrightness, and openness. The tone was set by the 19th all-union party conference, which was a real university of glasnost and democracy. It is splendid that many collectives have reacted in a businesslike fashion to its lessons.

One must admit that Communists often used to come to their meetings as if under some obligation. There were disputes, lively antics, and confidential discussions in the lobbies but only formal banal speeches from the rostrum that didn't disturb or trouble anyone.

Now the situation is changing noticeably, although this is not happening everywhere or all at once. This is facilitated by the tremendous preparatory work that has preceded the report election meetings and conferences. Lists of party committee or bureau candidates have been published in advance so that they could be discussed comprehensively. Use has been made of questionnaires in order to discover people's opinion of the possible candidacies. Non-party members have been invited to the conferences, which also helps stimulate collective discussion.

"Whom would you like to see in the new party bureau and why?"—workers at the Kochetav Locomotive Depot received questionnaires containing this sort of question a few days before the party meeting. By and large it was the candidates for whom a preference was shown during the surveys whose names were put on the secret ballot papers. This list of candidates was much longer than the size of the party bureau determined by the regulations, which made it possible to make a more considered selection. Thus candidates were tested twice, as it were—via the questionnaires and via discussion at the meetings. Incidentally, the meetings did not close right after the voting as they did before: The renewed party bureau elected a secretary from two candidates there and then.

Restructuring is the main theme of the reports and elections. Restructuring is happening differently in different collectives. It is important to examine the experience of restructuring more attentively and analyze what is being done practically to ensure the success of a job, what must be done, and what obstacles must be overcome more rapidly. Innovations are by no means having a smooth ride as they enter our life. Full economic accountability [khozraschet], the lease and family contracts, and the cooperative system all necessitate more committed support from Communists.

The course of party discussion is in many respects determined by the report speech. If it mentions sore points outright, does not gloss over sharp corners, and contains an in-depth analysis of the work, there can be no doubt that the debate will also be businesslike. People are right to involve a broad aktiv in preparing the report. This helps a greater number of Communists to make a thorough study of the state of affairs in the party organization and to think in advance about ways to resolve questions put forward by life.

Letters being received today by the editorial office talk about the importance of creating the sort of conditions for discussion that ensure that anyone who wants to can express his heartfelt opinion. "In my opinion," N. Prikhodko from Kiev notes, "we are still taking too little trouble to ensure that a Communist feels a real master in his party organization. To ensure that he does not remain dumb at meetings, that he voices his cherished thoughts and proposals and that no one snubs him and—in particular—no one gets even with him later for his criticism."

The attitude to criticism is still an important and a sensitive question. The editorial mailbag carries reports that sometimes a man is made to suffer for making a pointed but quite just statement. This mainly occurs because those who suppress criticism are not called to account. So they cast aside all restraint in some areas.

Admittedly, other things can also happen. Not a single word of criticism was heard in the course of the debate on Yu. Podstrelnov, secretary of Leningrad's No 43 Supermarket Party Committee. His name was included unanimously on the ballot paper. But when the time came to count the votes, it turned that he was not elected to the party bureau. The following question arises: Why not? Were people settling personal scores with him? Or had he not in fact proved himself worthy of the post of secretary? This should have been said outright and concrete proof adduced then. Otherwise it looked as though the members of the party organization had displayed cowardice and lack of principle.

Of course, as a rule Communists are not indifferent as to who heads the party collective. It is understandable that most party orgnizations are worried when setting about resolving this question. This was the situation that arose on Uralsk Oblast's "Pravda" Sovkhoz. Communists resolutely "barred" the way to the party committee to T. Meneshev, who had been its secretary for several years. He was notable for his servility and obedience to the administration and he did not treat ordinary Communists considerately: Rudeness, menacing growls, and arrogance were the norm for him. The members of the party organization rose up against this. Ye. Limov, second secretary of Dzhambeytinskiy party raykom, began to press "her candidacy, but the Communists did not agree with her. This resulted in their chosen candidate—Zh. Agatayev, a young engineer—becoming secretary. As chairman of the leading people's control group he had cost many underhand operators several sleepless nights.

This fact once again confirms that party raykoms and gorkoms should make a more thorough study of their reserves for advancement. The opinions of Communists and high-ranking party committees often differ. In Astrakhan, for example, only 55 percent of secretaries are elected from the gorkom reserve, that is, scarcely more than half. Communists believe (not unfoundedly) that they have a better knowledge of a particular comrade from the collective and elect their leaders responsibly.

A growing sense of responsibility has been noted in many party organizations. Thus, the replacement level of shop party organizations' secretaries has risen from 23 percent in the previous elections to 35 percent in these elections. The work of 106 of these secretaries has been deemed unsatisfactory, whereas a year ago this figure was only 21. Yet one-third of organizations have still not held their meetings. Admittedly, there are paradoxes too. For instance, certain party organizations in Kustanay Oblast have given an unsatisfactory assessment of the work of the committee or the bureau, yet they have elected...the same man again as secretary.

The report and election campaign is at its height. Rayon and city and then oblast and kray party conferences lie ahead. It is very important to learn a timely lesson from the meetings and conferences that have been held in party organizations. In particular, the new Instruction on Electing Leading Party Organs must be studied better. Party organizations are sitting a serious examination. This is assessed in terms of practical concrete results.

Further on Founding of 'Moscow Tribune' Club

PM1910092588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 18 Oct 88 p 2

[Ye. Illesh report: "'Moscow Tribune' Is the Name of the New Political-Cultural and Social Club which Announced Its Existence Last Week"]

[Text] The club's founders are well-known scientists and journalists who have won particularly high prestige by their participation in the discussion of the most acute questions of restructuring. They include A. Adamovich, Yu. Afanasyev, L. Batkin, Yu. Burtin, M. Gefter, Yu. Karyakin, R. Sagdeyev, and A. Sakharov.

One reason for the failure of political and economic reforms of the past, the initiators of the club's creation believe, was the dispersal of the country's intellectual and creative forces, the intelligentsia's removal from public life. Consolidating forces, making restructuring more dynamic and mature, preventing it from getting stuck in the swamp of routine structures and habits, establishing mutually respectful dialogue between the party and state leadership and the public—the club's activity should promote all this.

The "Moscow Tribune" members see their task in organizing the nondepartmental examination of major social problems on a comprehensive basis, analyzing the situation which has taken shape in the country, and scientifically forecasting its development. Apart from holding regular discussions on the subjects which most perturb the public, it is planned to create specific programs and projects in whose work scientists, technicians, and figures of culture of the highest level will be involved. The club has thus been conceived as a community of highly qualified professionals in various fields of intellectual labor.

It is not only high professional qualities which will be an essential condition for membership of the club, but also an irreproachable civic reputation, as was stated at the inaugural meeting by S. Averintsev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Professor S. Zarasov, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Political Economy Department, and others.

The rule-of-law state, ecology, the nationalities question, the Food Program, the economic reform, the development of glasnost—the organizing group considers the discussion of these problems to be an urgent matter. The main thing, said Professor L. Altshuler, a Lenin Prize winner and well-known physicist, is to create a model for a society of humane socialism.

Role, Future of Estonian Popular Front Examined

PM1810113188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 p 4

[Special correspondent R. Guseynov article under the rubric "Estonia: Lessons of Democracy": "Popular Front Begins and..."]

[Excerpt] Tallinn-Moscow—[Passage omitted] You can always breathe easily in Estonia. The Gulf of Finland, the Gulf of Riga, Lake Peipus, and dozens of little lakes and streams thoroughly air this northern district, this land of interesting people with their original, unique culture, independent character, and an amiable stubbornness and persistence which are understandable. The founding congress of a new public movement—the Estonian Popular Front in Support of Restructuring—lasted 2 days in the largest hall in the republic's capital, the city's Lenin Hall.

Popular Front... This very combination of words sounds unusual when you write of the country's internal life. But is restructuring not a "front" where battles invisible to the eye are taking place? Has bureaucracy already yielded its positions? Do we not have "left-wingers" and "right-wingers"? And do the people not need to maintain vigilance? Ozhegov interprets one of the figurative meanings of the word "front" as "a union of public forces for action in some area." In Estonia people deemed it necessary to unite these forces in the Popular Front. I have repeatedly heard this movement referred to as "a revolution from below." There is no denying that they are sonorous words! But let us not forget that restructuring began at the will of the party and its best forces, which said that we "cannot go on living in the old way." Restructuring was supported by the people.

Let us return, however, to the origins. The term "Popular Front" itself was first heard in Moscow. In the pages of central newspapers people began talking of the possibility of just such a union of society's progressive forces. The determining time for Estonians was April, when a joint plenum of boards of creative unions was held in Tallinn. Twenty hours of sincere and extremely frank discussion helped to formulate the platform on which the front was subsequently created. What took place at the plenum may with good reason be called a political debate—a concept which, alas, was long ago lost from our public life for reasons that everyone understands.

Events went on to develop so quickly that skeptics lost their last doubts as to the need for urgent discussion. Discussing the subject of civilian initiatives in the popular television program "Let's Think Again" on the evening of 13 April, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E. Savisaar proposed setting up a democratic movement in defense of restructuring—the Popular Front. That same night, staying behind in the television studio, the initiators drew up a declaration. A few days later representatives of the action group were received at the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and Communist Party Central Committee. Following support for the idea of the Popular Front as a movement of broad circles of the republic's population, the press reported this 30 April.

The author of these notes had many meetings during the days preceding that event at the congress itself and after it. I talked with secretaries of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Komsomol

Central Committee, leaders of the Popular Front, representatives of the international movement, and journalist colleagues. Problems of concern to Estonian citizens were discussed in detail during detailed talks with representatives of the different nationalities inhabiting the republic.

...There have been many changes in Estonia. This is visible even to the naked eye. Cornelius Tacitus once remarked of one period in his life that it was "an uncommonly happy time, when you could feel what you wanted and say what you felt." Much of what the republic's inhabitants quite recently were saying at home or within a narrow circle of friends is today being discussed in the press, on television, and at numerous rallies. Tremendous public energy has been manifested and is pulsating with unprecedented force, sometimes overflowing. People are heatedly and passionately discussing the history of the Estonian people and "blank spots," particularly those associated with difficult and sometimes tragic pages: the republic's incorporation in the USSR in 1940 and the deportation of thousands of little Estonia's inhabitants during the years of the personality cult. Attention is centered on questions of the development of the language, national culture, relations with the Russian-speaking population, and the ecology.

Speakers at the congress spoke with alarm about the harm done to Estonia by stagnation. No integral economic complex took shape in the republic, and there is no policy for managing it, and economically sound decisions were not always adopted on questions of the siting and development of productive forces. Economic activity has frequently been subordinated to the narrow interests of union departments. In a polemically pointed speech one of the speakers compared those departments to multinational corporations lording it over "Third World" countries. Despite the fact that the opportunities for extensive production development had been exhausted, the construction of new enterprises and the enlargement of old ones continued. The shortage of manpower contributed to its influx from other republics, the social infrastructure began to lag behind, and interethnic relations were exacerbated.

Estonia always used to gladden its guests with rich store counters. In recent years they have been appreciably impoverished. Peasants have lost interest in their craft. Many speakers said that the quickest way to resolve this problem is to overcome the peasant's alienation from the land and restore to him real proprietary rights.

Speeches connected with environmental protection evinced real pain. Power stations at Narva discharge hundreds of thousands of tonnes of harmful substances into the air, and the chemical industry at Kokhtla-Yarve and Maardu pollutes air and water. Owing to the absence of biological purification plants and the poor functioning of mechanical and chemical ones, the level of pollution in Parnu Bay is hundreds and in some months thousands (!) of times in excess of permissible limits. The working of phosphorite deposits is a subject of special alarm.

I have thought a great deal about the arguments cited by particular speakers in support of their speeches and realized that they are not all incontestable.

A great deal links Russia and Estonia, and a diligent historian will not count this from 1940. Historical chronicles assert that Finno-Ugric tribes, the remote ancestors of present-day Estonians, migrated from the Urals and Volga regions to the north of the Eastern Baltic region in approximately the 3d millennium BC. Constant relations were maintained between the Estonian tribes and Eastern Slavs. Estonians participated in the military campaigns of the princes of Novgorod and Kiev in the 9th and 10th centuries. None other than Prince Yaroslav the Wise laid the foundations of the fortress of Yuryev (now Tartu) in 1030. Russian armed retinues always helped their neighbors in the struggle against foreign invaders. In 1224 the Russian Prince Vyachko fought to the last alongside Estonians, defending Tartu against German crusaders, and preferred death to shameful capture.

I was told a lot about the high living standard in Estonia during 1920-1940. Probably life was relatively good here alongside war-ravaged Russia. But not for everyone. Deprived of raw materials and a market on its separation from Russia, Estonia suffered considerable harm. Many large enterprises were closed or reorganized. The economic crisis of 1929-1933 hit Estonians hard and caused unemployment. In 1939-1940 rural proletarians, poor peasants, and ruined middle peasants made up approximately two-thirds of the rural population.

It is also true that Estonian Communists suffered heavy losses during the years of repressions and the pesonality cult. Practically the entire leadership of the party's Central Committee, which was in the Soviet Union, was subject to repression during the thirties. During the Stalinist fifties all the old party cadres born in Estonia were accused of nationalism and repressed or dismissed from their work. The party suffered losses along with the entire people.

While rightly speaking of the Stalinist repressions and raising the question of compensation for those who suffered and their families, we must not forget the terrible things that the fascist occupation brought to the land of Estonia. The Hitlerites set up more than 25 concentration camps on Estonian territory, where approximately 60,000 peaceful inhabitants and 64,000 prisoners of war perished. The damage done to the republic's national economy by the Hitlerites is estimated at R16 billion.

A lot is said about migrants—people who have moved into the republic in recent years. They are rebuked for not knowing the language, failing to respect the Estonian

people's traditions, failing to understand their culture, and for their high birthrate (!). There is no denying that the majority of these rebukes are not without grounds. Albert Maloveryan, one of my new acquaintances, works as deputy editor of the newspaper MOLODEZH ESTONII. An Armenian by nationality, he has lived in Estonia a long time, is fluent in Estonian, and is pleased to use the language. He can talk for hours about the Estonians' culture and history and is very concerned about the people's future. Unfortunately, people like Albert are few and far between. I feel that the Russian-speaking population should start thinking about changing their attitude toward many things. Ultimately, they are on this earth to live and bring up children. But something else is also clear—these problems cannot be solved by edicts or "soapbox" democracy. We need patience, understanding, mutual openness, and goodwill. It has been emphasized to me on many an occasion that the Popular Front is open to representatives of all nations. This may be so, but at present 90 percent of its members—according to Popular Front statistics—are Estonians, 6 percent are Russians, and 4 percent are representatives of other nationalities. For a republic whose population comprises 900,000 Estonians and 600,000 Russian-speaking peoples, this indicator is very telling. Not one representative of the Russian-speaking population was elected to the seven-man Popular Front Board.

Something else is also no secret. All these years even anyone wishing to learn Estonian has found this difficult: There are no courses, no textbooks, and in Russian schools lessons in Estonian are formal affairs. Today the situation is changing, but it will take time for this problem to cease being a problem. It must also not be forgotten that people who have come to Estonia in recent years have not been sitting idle. They have worked hard and made their own (quite considerable!) contribution to the development of the republic. Today they are ready to take part in the restructuring process alongside the indigenous residents. It would be laughable to regard them as a "brake on restructuring."

During a scheduled press conference, one of the delegates to the congress answered a question about the social and moral atmosphere in the republic and referred to research which has shown that, since the Popular Front became active, suicide among Estonians in the republic has fallen by one-third. It cannot be denied that this is real evidence of the optimism and hope people feel in connection with restructuring. But I can also say something else. A cnsiderable segment of the Russian-speaking population feels some concern and lack of confidence about the future. Some delegates talked frankly about this.

The organization of an international movement has been one reaction to the Popular Front. Its members believe that the proposals put forward by the Popular Front could infringe on the rights and vital interests of the Russian-speaking population. The Popular Front has criticized the international movement, stressing that it does not represent the interests of the entire Russian-speaking population but only a small part of it. It has also condemned the international movement for an attempt to split the republic along national lines and talks of extremists in its ranks. It must be admitted that the arguments between the opponents are uncivil and there is no palpable desire for compromise or steps to meet each other halfway.

But there are also people with extremist views in the ranks of the Popular Front. E. Savisaar actually admitted this in his report at the congress. Some of them are plainly calling for attempts to smash bodies of authority, to set the Estonian Communist Party and Popular Front in opposition to one another as two irreconcilable forces, and are demanding changes in the Constitution that are not acceptable to everyone living in the republic. In response to these people, E. Savisaar remarked: "We will not beat our fists on the table, because you will always find a fist that is a little stronger."

We will be frank: National relations in Estonia have become exacerbated. This was said by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum and was confirmed by other delegates—some directly, others indirectly. Obviously, in a sovereign republic no serious social, economic, or ecological measure can be taken which infringes on national dignity or disregards the ethnic consequences for Estonians. On the other hand, we must not forget the realities of today's multiethnic republic.

I would also like to talk about the idea of an economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] republic, supported at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. There are a great many proposals on this score: They range from direct trade links with foreign partners and the use of foreign capital to the introduction of the republic's own convertible currency and customs. Many people in Estonia are attracted by this idea, which is understandable. Economic accountability opens up a direct route to resolving many urgent problems. But in the conditions of restructuring the socialist economy, it is important to really carefully think through all decisions, prepare the ground for the transition, build contacts with central departments, and, naturally, consider the interests of the republic in question. I have been told that many foreign firms are prepared to invest substantial sums of money in the Estonian economy. There is no question that this is needed. But we should not forget that capitalists do not give their money away for nothing, and so we must weigh up all the circumstances. It would also do no harm to take a close look at the experience of fraternal socialist countries. I will quote an extract from a recent speech by B. Mikulic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

"Excessive decentralization has divided Yugoslavia and turned it into a series of independent, sometimes isolated 'small states' which frequently think only of their own interests rather than the interests of the nation as a whole."

It cannot be denied that the Estonian Communist Party and its Central Committee have found themselves in a difficult position. The party committees are coming under fire from critics—sometimes the criticism is just, but often it is exaggerated. Party leaders admit that "the Popular Front came into being in an atmosphere where the Estonian Communist Party leadership was indecisive, inert, without initiative and had lost the people's confidence." At the same time, you cannot help but respect the efforts of the new Estonian party leadership to not only soberly weigh up the processes taking place in the republic but also actively influence them from new positions and in changed conditions. The experience of joint work (thousands of rank-and-file Communists, nonparty people, and Popular Front activists were involved in this) on the platform of the Estonian delegation to the 19th All-Union Party Conference showed that this kind of cooperation is both possible and necessary.

We should also not forget that among the representatives entrusted with the preparation of the congress 28 percent were Communists and among the delegates to the congress 22 percent were members of the CPSU. A considerable number of Communists are also on the board and council of representatives elected by the congress.

The people I talked to in Tallinn often told me about their people's distinctive history, the specifics of the Estonian character, and the complex interweaving of problems, including those connected with central authority in Moscow. A great deal was said about the delicate nature of national problems and the need to treat the subject with sensitivity, study it thoroughly, and only then draw your conclusions. It is impossible not to agree with this; in this my Estonian friends are, of course, right. But in this connection I must also mention something that is clearly at variance with these proclaimed principles. Speaking from the congress rostrum, one of the participants who supported the idea of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's reunification with Armenia said that the Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are "living in enslaved territory."

Indeed, it was uncomfortable to see T. Avikson, an excellent organizer and head of the press center, who is always polite and restrained, vainly urging journalists to ask questions about Karabakh and assessing the performance of the central press on this issue as unsatisfactory. The same can be said of the appraisals given at the press conference on the causes of the tension between Hungary and Romania. Our Hungarian and Romanian friends will probably do a better job of studying this question.

One more thing is very important, in my view. Restructuring has increased the value of the WORD immeasurably. But it has enhanced the authority of ACTION even more. The general unceasing hubbub in the city hall where the congress was held has died away; the Soviet and foreign journalists have packed away their equipment and gone home; the leaders of the front and its intellectual and motive forces have returned to their main duties. But the front lives on, is a breathing organism, and wants to see real changes—not just assurances and appeals.

The future is not going to be easy. The leaders of the Popular Front have received a very serious vote of confidence from the delegates. What do they intend to do with it? V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, said in this connection: "I can foresee that the leaders of the Popular Front have some difficult times ahead that will require a great deal of political acumen, when they will sometimes have to make decisions that perhaps will not always find favor with the people at the time. Lenin taught us to distinguish between the masses' mood of the moment and their real historical interests and to realize that they do not always coincide." How competent will these people prove whose appearance on the rostrum prompted a storm of applause provbe to be? How sensible and farsighted will their decisions and actions be? How will the interests of all the ethnic groups living in Estonia be taken into consideration? What kind of relationship will be built up between Estonia and the central authorities? The future of restructuring in Estonia and its contribution to the development of socialist democracy and the solution of national problems depend on the answers to these questions.

Latvia's Popular Front Appeals for Support

WA18000032A Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 14 Sep 88 p 1

["Appeal to the People of Soviet Latvia" signed by A. Andzhan, Ye. Ikauniyeks, A. Pabriks, S. Ankrava, R. Apsitis, Ya. Bichevskis, Ya. Borzov, Ya. Poriyetis, and A. Prikulis]

[Text] Today all of us are involved in determining the further fate of our Latvia. The Latvian Popular Front today can still rally all of us for a common effort; it can still channel the energy dormant in the people toward the restructuring of society and can still save our homeland!

However, we must also realize that this opportunity will not come again. If the broad popular masses are not represented in the NFL [Latvian Popular Front] and if conservative forces which find the continuation of stagnation to their advantage gain the upper hand, the objectives formulated in the draft NFL program will never be attained and, once again, the people will plunge again in a state of passiveness and hopelessness. This must not be allowed!

For that reason we appeal to the progressive citizens of all ethnic groups living in Latvia.

Let us hope, have faith and act daringly! We are needed by our land, which calls for our help. Let us all join the ranks of the Latvian Popular Front. Let us grow and let us enhance our Latvia! Let us decide the fate of our homeland ourselves!

Representatives of the support group of the NFL at the Latvian State University imeni P. Stuchka.

Information on established NFL support groups (lists of participants, information on the tie between the representatives of the group and the organizational committee for the NFL Congress) should be submitted (preferably in person) to the NFL Coordination Center before 20 September, at the following address: Riga, 12 Kr. Barona Street. At the same address information may be obtained concerning any further work (telephone No 284-735).

Readers' Views Published

WA18000032C Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 23 Sep 88 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Foundation For Dialogue; Readers On the Popular Front"]

[Text] The draft program and statutes of the Latvian Popular Front (NFL) have been published. Responses to them, in the letters to the editors, come in a great variety: enthusiastic approval of the documents or their drastic rejection, questions or puzzlements expressed by their authors, and specific suggestions.... As a whole, we are seeing a "mirror" which reflects the social frame of mind.

Some of our readers seem to be pursuing the discussion initiated in the 29 July 1988 issue of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, when the following question was discussed in an editorial roundtable meeting: Why is a Popular Front needed? Today the answer has been formulated: The "General Principles" section emphasizes that the NFL "**...systematically supports restructuring on the basis of the principles of democratic socialism and humanism....**"

However, many letter writers, profiting from the invitation to discuss the draft program, have tried to refine its initial postulates. A. Moiseyev, fitter at the Pirmays Mays Association; labor veteran A. Astakhova; engineer G. Grinko (all of them from Riga); N. Korneyev, a worker from Tsesisskiy Rayon; and L. Zankina, labor veteran from Yelgava, point out that restructuring was initiated and is headed by the party and that it has sufficient assistants to carry out the transformations it has undertaken: the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol.... Why then do we need yet one more organization? It is in order to implement initiatives which cannot be carried out within the framework of already existing social structures. It is the NFL that is precisely called upon to provide conditions to this effect, for in itself it is an answer to the challenge of the time, and a reaction to stagnation and the scarcity of glasnost and democracy....

Not all letter writers agree with this conclusion. According to Comrade N. Korneyev, "...There has been and is democracy in our country. The fact that some of our leaders tried to distort and suppress it is a fact. This is the result of an omission or simply neglect on the part of the party and the public organizations."

He is literally seconded by Comrade L. Astakhova (naturally, there is no collusion here), who claims that if everyone of us would conscientiously perform his work and civil and party duty, the country "...would not have reached a situation which would make revolutionary restructuring a necessity."

Let us consider what those of our readers, who support the idea itself of the Popular Front movement, think on this subject. They see in it a real manifestation of the process of democratization and progress toward true popular rule, in which society will be profoundly interested in seeing to it that every citizen participate in the solution of common problems, and that the voice of everyone is heard and taken into consideration even if it is not in harmony with other.

In practical terms, how do they conceive of the solution, today and in the future, of this comprehensive and complex problem? K. Karlson, head of an electricians' brigade at the VEF Production Association, and I. Baluyev, from Liyepaya, emphasize that all members of the Popular Front must be united by a common cause. Although it may not be very famous, it must be absolutely specific, thus letting everyone realize that the Popular Front is promoting through action, not through words or appeals, confidence which has been greatly undermined. Comrade Karlson also mentions the areas where it is also necessary to lend a hand. This applies above all to ecology, from environmental protection projects at enterprises to city-wide treatment installations.

In the view of worker V. Kadobnov, identifying and blocking decisions made by the bureaucratic apparatus, which conflict with the social interests, should be the first concern of the NFL. He reminds us that the roots of administrative-command management methods can be traced to the period of the cult of Stalin's personality and of stagnation; they pollute the social environment and destroy morality. Success in the struggle against bureaucrats is possible only if an offensive is mounted against them both "from above" and "from below," including the forces rallied within the NFL.

According to our reader Timoshenko (unfortunately, we have been unable to decipher his initials), the NFL is a kind of civic control. However, it could become effective only with the active participation of "as many simple workers as possible." The author of this letter fears that workers would become nothing but "witnesses of disputes among intellectuals" concerning the draft program and statutes of the NFL. What does the author of this letter

suggest so that his worst fears are not realized? "The people by the work bench," he believes, "must become convinced that the Popular Front is indeed fighting the bureaucracy."

We cannot fail to note that such a logic take us straight to a system which was well mastered in the past: "You initiate something and then we look over what you have accomplished...." However, nor could we ignore the fact that in responding to the appeal openly to discuss the draft NFL program, the people do not conceal their doubts and fears. Most frequently the latter are expressed in the form of questions: What will the NFL's role and place in the social structure be? How will proposals of granting the status of state language to the Latvian language, the introduction of citizenship, and broadening the boundaries of the republic's political and economic autonomy be carried out in practice?

The mail shows that the Russian-speaking segment of the republic's population is concerned that as a result of the implementation of these proposals its interests would be harmed. Clearly, such fears are intentionally encouraged by excessive talk about who will be classified as a so-called migrant, and what length of residence would guarantee one the right of republic citizenship?...

How to cool down the passions? To begin with, we must understand the reasons which create them. Could the essence and the objective nature of the changes which are taking place be blamed only on those who "stagnate" and who persist in their unwillingness to understand them? Or does this apply only to the demagogues and the ambitious, who have come to the surface of the wave of democratization and who are irresponsibly waving nationalistic and extremist slogans? They would like to solve all problems quickly and simply (so as to suit them) because, without asking, they have appropriated for themselves the monopoly right to pass judgment concerning the most vital matters of society. Under their pressure even the real representatives of the "silent majority" would retire inside the shell of expectation or absolute mistrust, or even swing over to the side of extremist ideologues.

Naturally, such reaction can be explained by the people's lack of information. Representatives of initiative groups of the NFL have repeatedly expressed the idea that lack of information (particularly among the Russian-speaking segment of the population) is an obstacle to drawing accurate conclusions about the NFL program. However, it is hardly worth exaggerating the significance of this factor. In some cases one could even speak of too much information. But what kind? Information which confuses, which triggers doubts and fears.

Doubts appear also by virtue of differences in the texts of the two basic NFL documents. We read in the draft program that "**the Latvian Popular Front (NFL) is a republic social organization....**" The draft statutes, however, present a different formula: "**the Latvian Popular Front (NFL) is a mass sociopolitical organization of the republic....**"

Following are three other letters which, in their own way, are also quite indicative. Comrade A. Mochkin hopes that the NFL "will represent (and, if necessary, suitably defend) the interests of the entire population of the republic, regardless of ethnic affiliation." Engineer A. Kruglov is convinced that the task of the NFL is to struggle for "guarantees that housing will be provided for the Letts the moment a child is born to a family, that the housing area would be increased and that facilities will be provided for enrolling children in preschool institutions...." Comrade Parshin from Yurmala is absolutely categorical: In his view, anything that has been taking place in Latvia of late has been "provoked by nationalists." He ends his letter with the promise, on behalf of the "Friendship" Society (?!) "to struggle against the creation of a Popular Front."

Understandably, these are individual views only. Everyone has the right to express himself in a way he considers most adequate. Nonetheless, they inform us of the existence of a kind of social subsoil which nurtures fears of a division within the population, based on national features. It would be irresponsible to ignore it in discussing the NFL draft statutes and program and to ignore the fact that the increased threat of undesirable phenomena plays in the hands of the opponents of real democratic change.

It is no accident that some participants in the discussion on the creation of the Popular Front have failed to notice the obvious, namely the fact (which, incidentally, was clearly reflected in the roundtable editorial meeting) that from the very start the majority of NFL supporters have believed its main objective to be that of rallying the forces which support restructuring. And what happened? Even before its creation and before it has begun to function, the NFL has already managed to become a target of mistrust and even suspicion.

What to do it that case? Where are we to look for the proper arguments to prevent a fog of false slogans from setting in, which would poison the discussions? We know where: in the documents adopted at the 19th all-union party conference.

Let us consider especially the resolution "On Inter-Nationality Relations." It emphasizes that any national problem must be resolved calmly, with an exceptional feeling of responsibility, with consideration for the other party, in order not to harm the international cohesion of the peoples of the USSR. "Matters must be such," it further states, "as to encourage the creation of a social climate in which a person, whatever his nationality, would feel at home anywhere in the socialist homeland."

Such is the criterion on the basis of which we should check both the content and the form of the arguments. This would help us to realize that we must not yield to provocations which promote international discord, whatever their origin. Any attempts to explain them by citing the expediency of superior considerations triggers mistrust and suspicion and undermines the process of surmounting distortions in relations among nationalities. Unfortunately, this is frequently forgotten by the parties to an argument. It is forgotten because they are defending their private or narrow-group (frequently self-seeking) interests, ignoring those of the entire society. Coming across this kind of polemics, one unwittingly recalls the old precepts, one of which is that politics is the art of the possible. However, even the possibility becomes a reality most frequently thanks to the ability of the people to make sensible concessions and to emphasize what unites rather than divides them.

The breath of quick-tempered parties, aimed exclusively at the other side, may be sensed also in responses to the draft statutes and program of the NFL. Unfortunately, the overwhelming majority of the authors of such letters have not realized that the NFL could become a common platform in the search of compromises on all controversial problems, including that of relations among nationalities. Yet such a view, naturally undistorted by the foggy shroud of reciprocal accusations, would help us to take into consideration the legitimate interests of everyone (not only of the Lett and Russian ethnic groups, but even of the smallest ones). Finally, it is time to find a form of dialogue, consistent with the spirit of our time and the scale of the tasks. I may be told that it is easy to call for this, but harder to implement this call. I agree. However, assuming that we have still not realized it, it would be worth considering what is being done by our neighbors to the north, the more so since this is nothing new: the experience of the Estonians in the creation of that same kind of Popular Front has been a frequent visitor in the pages of our republic press, television and radio. They have also discussed in detail the fact that in Estonia, an International Movement is being created as an alternative to the Popular Front, and that pitting one initiative center against another has increased the threat of a split among the population in the republic, based on ethnic features. However, we did not follow this up by learning about their experience in surmounting such a division. Such experience does exist. Let us cite above all the large number of statements made by representatives of the Estonian National Front Initiative Center, in which they thoroughly explained the spirit and letter of the program, particularly those points in it which have triggered the sharpest conflicts.

Also noteworthy is the initiative of the Dvigatel Plant in Tallinn. The enterprise's labor collective council suggested that a conference of labor collectives be held. The conference rallied representatives of 42 enterprises and organizations. Its participants appealed to the Popular Front and the International Movement to channel their energy and forces into the unification of the progressive forces struggling for restructuring.

The time has come to understand that there is no alternative to such an alliance, anymore than there is one to restructuring. Today it is the high road for all of us, the only one which could rescue us, on the one hand, from the illusion that all problems can be solved exclusively on a national basis and, on the other, from the unwillingness to take into consideration that the solution of economic, social and other problems must take place by taking the national features of the republic into consideration.

It is simply necessary to seek mutually acceptable viewpoints. The Popular Front could become the foundation for such a quest, for a socially oriented dialogue. However, it may also fail to become one. This too must not be forgotten.

'Informal Popular Front' Discusses Program

WA18000032B Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 17 Sep 88 p 6

[Interview with Sergey Yegorenok, Imants Kulinskis, and Ugis Shultse, "leaders of the initiative group of the informal popular front" in Latvia, by Irina Litvinova and Yevgeniy Orlov: "'So That No Black Crows May Be Seen In Our Country....'"; date not given]

[Text] **Talks in Room 1108**

This marks the beginning of a new section. Does it require an explanation? Room number 1108 is a room in our editorial premises. Today we have invited here for a talk the leaders of the initiative group of the informal Popular Front. Before that, Sergey Yegorenok, Imants Kulinskis, and Ugis Shultse acquainted us and journalists from other publications, who took part in the discussion, with the front's draft program.

The reels on the tape recorder turned for 3 and ½ hours. We present our talk with abbreviations and a minor stylistic correction for the familiar reason that the size of the newspaper is not infinite. However, anyone who would like to hear the talk in its entirety can do this for one week as of the day of publication, after checking with us, by dialing 467-580 or 467-713.

A talk means, above all, the possibility for our guests to express themselves. We journalists discussed, argued, and suggested. We believe that the main purpose of this new section is to clarify positions and new views concerning social life in the republic, expressed by groups, associations or fronts. If after this publication our readers would like to continue this talk in room No 1108, we shall grant them this opportunity.

And so, let us begin....

[Interviewer] Our first question is about your draft program. You do not use in it even even once the concept of "migrants," which has now become popular in the press and in daily use. Are you avoiding it deliberately?

Sergey Yegorenok: The term "migrants" itself is erroneous from the political viewpoint. Since we are, above all, a political organization, we must adopt a literate approach to terminology. We speak of migration and remigration processes but we do not speak of "migrants." We deliberately avoid this term, for today it has become threatening. It is an insulting word. The division into "migrant-nonmigrant" no longer fits. We must speak of migration and remigration processes.... Migration processes are terrible for the republic.

A number of enterprises today are economic nonsense. This applies to enterprises which have neither a raw material base nor a market for their products in a given territory.

[Interviewer] One of the means of solving the problem, in as much as we gather from the front's program, is remigration. Do you consider this to be truly necessary?

S.Ye.: Yes, we shall have to activate the mechanism of the outflow of workers from the republic, from enterprises which will go bankrupt. This would be economically and politically proper.

[Interviewer] Will this be a coercive process or...

Imants Kulinskis: No, this should be done in such a way that the people could find it to their advantage to live where they are needed and for hired labor to be provided with the necessary conditions in the new places.

S.Ye.: Inevitably, the following question will arise: Who is needed by the republic, who can be retrained, and who is a ballast. It is clear, however, that this is not ballast but a person, for which reason the way to solve this problem is the following: If people are a burdening factor for the republic, they must leave. However, they must not suffer. Conditions must be created for them to live elsewhere, so that they will not feel themselves harmed.

[Interviewer] Should they be forced out or have the right to do so?

S.Ye.: They have the right... And if they do not leave, they should adapt themselves to the new environment. Furthermore, in order for the people not to become a ballast on the new territory as well, they must be secured jobs, under economically advantageous conditions....

[Interviewer] Who should provide these conditions?

S.Ye.: What do you mean who? The republic! The republic's government! The republic should build them housing there, and provide them with jobs. This will enhance the economy both there and in the republic.

[Interviewer] That means that out of its own pocket the republic will have to spend a great deal of money for all of this.... Would it not be better for that money to be used to provide a civilized solution to all such problems within the republic?

S.Ye.: Migration problems were the result not only of the actions of the government but of its inaction as well. If we wish to change the situation we must ask it to engage in actions which will neutralize, will remove the migration problem.

[Interviewer] A priority. Could a priority be enjoyed by a person depending on his nationality, or shall we nonetheless act on the basis of the universally adopted rule that your benefit is determined by your contribution to obtaining this benefit, i.e., by the ability, level of training, quality of knowledge, and skill in using them for the common good?

S.Ye.: Latvia is a national territory. Its native population are the Letts. Therefore, conditions must be created above all to normalize the life of the native population.

I.K.: No one intends to evacuate from here those who have invested a great deal in this land, those for whom it is home. I emphasize this. Remigration is aimed at "homeless people." Nonetheless, let me add that the Latvian people, whatever we may say, have the right to their ethnic territory and, on this territory, have the right to live and develop. This is the base which determines everything else.

S.Ye.: I absolutely agree. All the problems which we consider in the republic must be seen through the lens of the interests of the native nationality. Remigration is a voluntary process. A person may remain here and adapt himself. That is why I am in favor of the Latvian language becoming the state language in the republic.

[Interviewer] How do you conceive the status of a state language?

I.K.: In my view, it must be the business language in all areas of life in the republic, keeping the Russian language and restoring the other languages marking the cultural autonomy of each ethnic group living on Latvian territory.

S.Ye.: Whatever the case, the Russian language will be the language of international communication in our country. This is inevitable.

[Interviewer] In your view, who should be held responsible for the fact that there is no real bilingualism in the republic? Should it be specific individuals or a specific ethnic group? Should it be specific individuals in specific departments?

Ugis Shultse: I believe that at the present time there is no real bilingualism in the republic....

S.Ye.: The responsibility for this falls on the government which failed to create the necessary conditions to this effect.

I.K.: A linguistic barrier was artificially erected by the government in order to preserve a situation under which one could divide and rule. Today we are harvesting the fruit of this: Anything progressive which comes from one segment of the population remains totally unknown to another.

U.Sh.: All of this led to unification.

S.Ye.: Stalinism immediately took a course of unification of Russian culture as being the most widespread. Initially, this was done within the Russian Federation. This was followed by suppressing national culture, for a national culture is protected, as a rule, by the linguistic barrier....

[Interviewer] Can you cite examples of suppressing national cultures in our republic?

S.Ye.: Gladly. Let us take as an example our Latvian University. If you look at the work of the acceptance commission you would see that the Latvia groups are picked up in three or four groups, the first being the one which fills remaining vacancies; it is followed by a lower quality gray matter taken from one's own national environment. This leads to the appearance of the so-called final gathering.... The lack of competition leads to the destruction of this environment. I believe that the acceptance of the native population in educational establishments has been exaggerated.

[Interviewer] When we speak of inequality of cultures, we must ask ourselves the following questions: Is the publication of books in the Latvian language being reduced, are there obstacles to exhibits by Latvian painters, and so on?

S.Ye.: Such a formulation of the question is one of the wrong methods based on the old consciousness. We must look at the roots, we must seek the sources of unification. In order to save the situation, we must find a breach, we must create it through the new driving mechanism for spreading all cultures throughout the republic's territory. For example, as a Russian, I clearly realize that if the Latvian language becomes the state language of Latvia, this would hurt me. I am saying this honestly. However, I shall be forced to learn the Latvian language and at that point I shall be able to say: Why could I not counter you with my own culture?

[Interviewer] Why counter?

S.Ye.: For the sake of development. There must be a competition among cultures.

[Interviewer] Is it pertinent to speak of competition among cultures? There should be coexistence among different cultures and not setting off one against the other....

S.Ye.: There are no Russian choirs on this territory. When the Latvian language becomes a state language I am simply confident that they will appear, as a reaction.

[interviewer] But why are there no Russian choirs? Why is it that out of hundreds of folk ensembles only a few are in the Russian language?

S.Ye.: This precisely is the result of unification.

[Interviewer] Could it be that this is an omission on the part of the Ministry of Culture? You know that nothing develops from scratch. How many places are there at the Ministry of Culture for managers of Russian choirs and ensembles? Not many. Therefore, this is not a case of unification but of the actions of a specific department.

S.Ye.: I say that there is no mechanism which would force the ministry to change its approach.

[Interviewer] What kind of mechanism?

S.Ye.: One of them, I repeat, is making Latvian the state language. At this point we are bound to exasperate this situation. Incidentally, the very discussion about a state language has already exasperated it.

I.K.: Why is folklore so strongly developed in our country? Because the need developed among the Letts to preserve their national autonomy. They preserved what was theirs, what was national, in the guise of songs and dances. By making Latvian the state language, we shall in a way open this "Latvian can," but we shall also do what is necessary to create conditions for the other cultures. It is at that point that collectives would appear....

[Interviewer] By creating other "cans?"

I.K.: I did not express myself entirely accurately....

S.Ye.: Let me continue. This is already taking place. For example, at the 23 August meeting I was approached by Ukrainians who asked for permission to raise a few slogans in the Ukrainian language. The people acquired this need which, previously, did not exist.... The same was asked by the Jews.... This explosion of the situation forces the people to think about who they are and what is happening....

[Interviewer] As to the explosion. As people who are engaged in political activities, you are predicting that this explosion will affect the organization of cultural formations. In your view, could there be another variant of such an explosion?

S.Ye.: We shall see! Today it is obvious: it is a frontal clash among all ethnic groups, within the same "can."...

[Interviewer] We have not seen such a confrontation among all ethnic groups....

S.Ye.: However, this trend exists. It is ripening as a result of the inactivity of our rulers, and is developing. An outburst took place within the Latvian people, whereas such an outburst has still not been noted among the Russians.

[Interviewer] Are you assuming a type of outburst, such as halting production and proclaiming a republic strike by the Russian speaking population?

I.K.: No, I do not anticipate such an outburst.

S.Ye.: I think that such an outburst is possible in 1991.... Therefore, we shall have to wait a little.

[Interviewer] Sergey, I have another question about language: Do you speak Latvian yourself?

S.Ye.: No.

[Interviewer] We journalists here have a basic knowledge of the language and can communicate and understand virtually everything.... In this connection, my question is the following: Does it not seem strange to you, Sergey, that by demanding statehood for the Latvian language you act as a person who does not speak it whereas we, who know this language sufficiently to communicate in it, do not demand anything but simply keep learning?

S.Ye.: What is strange about this?

[Interviewer] I repeat: What has prevented you.... Excuse me, how old are you?

S.Ye.: I am 32.

[Interviewer] Were you born in Riga?

S.Ye.: Yes, I am from Riga.

[Interviewer] ...And during all that time you did not learn to speak it?

S.Ye.: Above all, I had to get to the bottom of the problem of this people....

[Interviewer] And did you, without knowing the language?

S.Ye.: Is the language needed to achieve this?

[Interviewer] Therefore, one can understand the problem also without knowing the language?

S.Ye.: Yes.

U.Sh.: One could get to the bottom of the problem but, in my view, one cannot understand it.

[Interviewer] Nonetheless, who could join the informal front?

U.Sh.: The main link in our front is the group. We describe it as the "basic group." Let us say that such a basic group is created at the Environmental Protection Club, numbering from 3 to 15 members. It chooses a representative, a leader.... There may be 100, 200, as many as one wishes, such groups. It is impossible for all of the organizations to join the informal popular front. It can be joined only by the basic groups. The more basic groups there are the more will there be local authorities and active leaders....

S.Ye.: An active substance is always polarized into radical, moderate, and conservative elements. In the final account, however, we must consolidate all active social forces. I favor a mixture of programs. One of them would be that of the informal popular front. Another one would be the program of the Movement For Latvian Independence; yet another would be the program of the official Popular Front, and so on [for the] demonopolizing of power. Let some call for the physical removal of the Russians, another of the Letts, and yet another for the solution of economic problems. For God's sake, let us gather together and decide what could become a realistic structure which would help us to live a real life.

[Interviewer] But how could such different opinions be a rallying structure? It would rather be a divisive one. The efforts would be focused not on action but on talk. What is the socioeconomic objective of your front?

U.Sh.: The restoration of a market economy and the nationalization of the Latvian economy.

[Interviewer] In other words, territorial cost accounting?

U.Sh.: Not only that. We want for all means of production on Latvian territory to belong to the republic as a state formation.

[Interviewer] Tell us, has it been established that the republic could deal with all economic problems?

S.Ye.: There are those who believe that it could not, while other believe that it could. We must continue our assessments.... We are currently engaged in two parallel projects: The first is to activate the population, for our population has become passive and we, as informals, bear the main burden for activizing the people. Incidentally, the 23 August meeting proved that we have achieved a few things and that there are people who are prepared for the consolidation of forces, and for a dialogue with any one side. Second, we are engaged in dialogues, such as with you, for instance. We are seeking among you like-minded people who are ready to work fruitfully, so that there would not be in our country the black crows which are ready to peck out everyone's eyes.... [interview ends]

We journalists are frequently asked about our own stance! We admit that the journalists who attended this meeting question the need for this informal popular front. The fact, however, remains a fact: There is an informal front and we shall be able to assess its position only by finding out what its program is.

Lithuanian Groups Form 'Greens' Movement

LD1810130988 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Vilnius October 18 TASS—Numerous environmentalist clubs in the Soviet Baltic republic of Lithuania have joined together to form a united "Greens" movement.

Its founding conference took place at a mineral fertilizer factory in the city of Kedainiai.

Speaking there, Vitautas Eynoris, chairman of Lithuania's nature protection committee, described the ecological situation in the republic as threatening.

The "Greens" assert that time has run out and there is an urgent need for immediate and effective action and for changes to Lithuanian legislation. The narrow departmental approach to dealing with economic problems, they insist, must be rejected once and for all.

The "Greens" regard the 1986 Lithuanian government decision to prohibit the USSR Ministry of the Oil and Gas Industries to build an unreliable oil platform off the Kurski spit as the first triumph over polluters.

A representative of the nature protection committee told the conference in this connection that now USSR ministries may not conduct even exploratory work without the consent of the Lithuanian government.

The conference adopted a program for making industry ecologywise and rallying the efforts of researchers to do ecological studies and work out scientifically valid solutions to economic problems.

Several hundred leading scientists in this republic formed the movement's advisory council.

The conference elected a coordinating council and adopted an appeal to the government and people of Lithuania.

'More Democratic' Vilnius GOSR Events Planned

PM1910100188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Oct 88 p 4

["Our own correspondent" R. Motskus report: "Without Usual Rostrums"]

[Text] Vilnius—The Vilnius party gorkom bureau, having studied working people's wishes and proposals, has discussed the question of the celebration of the 71st anniversary of the Great October. It has been decided to change the traditional form of the October festivities and make them more democratic and in keeping with the times. The military parade remains, but the working people's demonstrations are being replaced by meetings and a people's open-air festival. Nor will there be government and state rostrums.

V. Alksneris, chief of the Vilnius Lithuanian Communist Party Gorkom Propaganda and Agitation Department, says:

"The party gorkoms and raykoms and newspaper editorial offices have recently been receiving many proposals concerning the festivities in the republic's capital. The party and ideological aktiv and representatives of the public believe that it is time to review the customary procedure for the festive processions and to do without pomp. The October anniversary, May Day, and Victory Day should have their own face in the spirit of the best traditions of our people. We agree with the city dwellers' opinion that in the era of the restructuring and renewal of society every holiday must be distinguished by a spirit of democracy and promote a frank dialogue about the present and tomorrow's affairs.

"On the morning of 7 November representatives of labor, student, and scientific collectives and servicemen from the Vilnius garrison will come to Lenin Square, where they will meet with the republic's party and government leaders. There will be a meeting and poems will be read. The servicemen will march along Lenin Avenue and brass bands will play. Naturally, the city's streets, squares, and public gardens will be festively arrayed. People will go from the meeting to Gediminas Square, for people's open-air festivals.

"We have also considered something else. Previously the organization of the head column alone often cost R60,000 and the organization of a plant column R8,000. Another use will now be found for this money."

Azerbaijan Raykoms Elect First Secretaries

NC1910082888 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0347 GMT 19 Oct 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Today's papers report on the plenums of the Salyanskiy and Zardobskiy party raykoms, which examined organizational issues. Gasanov was elected first secretary of the Salyanskiy party raykom, and Suleymanov first secretary of the Zardobskiy party raykom. Zeynalov and Gasanov, secretaries of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenums.

Azerbaijan To Begin Official Press Briefings

NC1910084988 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0347 GMT 19 Oct 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] What justified the introduction of the special status in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the adjoining Agdamskiy Rayon? Who brings to public attention in the republic the current problems of perestroyka and the real struggle against manifestations of obstruction? Answers to these questions will be provided during the first of a series of briefings for the press that have begun in the State Information Agency attached to the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers. They will be devoted to actual problems in the socioeconomic development of Azerbaijan, to interethnic relations, and to the vital needs of the population of our republic.

Further Comments From Nationalities Official

LD1410112388 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 13 Oct 88

[First 'conversation' was published in the National Affairs section of the 14 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 56]

[Text] Today we present the last of the two conversations with (Vyacheslav Mikhaylov) in charge of ethnic relations section at the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee.

In the late seventies and early eighties Soviet scholars claimed that the country resolved its ethnic problems once and for all. Were they eager to please the political leaders or were they just incompetent? (Vyacheslav Mikhaylov):

Incompetence had nothing to do with that. You can't bring such a charge against the scholars. True, some of them drew hasty conclusions, eager to bring a distant ideal closer. Until recently scholars and Communist Party documents alike claimed that the ethnic question had been resolved once and for all. They were obviously playing up the achievements in that field. That approach ignored the fact that ethnic development changes all the time just like any other process, says (Vyacheslav Mikhaylov).

For many years we've been deluding ourselves with figures illustrating the economic growth of the formerly backward ethnic regions. It seemed as soon as the smaller nationalities caught up with the Russians in their economic development there would be no more reasons for ethnic friction. (Vyacheslav Mikhaylov) again:

Experts calculated the growth of the Soviet republics' economic potential, labor productivity, literacy rates, and the number of schools, hospitals and community centers built. All that is very important, but that doesn't in itself determine the nature of ethnic relations, says (Vyacheslav Mikhaylov).

And yet the country has made some progress in that field. Soviet Government has held dozens of tiny ethnic groups to acquire a written language [sentence as heard].

That's an achievement of socialism. Over several decades these nations made significant strides. However, new problems were quick to arise as the growing economic, social, and intellectual aspirations of various ethnic groups failed to fit into the nationwide pattern of economic management, says (Vyacheslav Mikhaylov).

Has the Communist Party any specific program to deal with the present ethnic problems? (Vyacheslav Mikhaylov):

The recent national conference of the party clearly outlined a way to correct the distortions that have been allowed. All Soviet republics and all ethnic groups are to enhance their prestige and respect each other's sovereignty. As part of decentralization, decisionmaking, currently in the competence of the highest governing bodies, will be handed over to the local authorities. These steps will clear the way for meeting the requirements of all ethnic groups, large and small, and eventually will strengthen this integral multi-ethnic nation.

Writer V. Bykov Ponders Language Issues

PM1310132788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with writer Vasil Bykov by own correspondent M. Shimanskiy: "Vasil Bykov: Language Is the People's Soul"—date, place not given; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Culture in language relations in our national republics, the development of the languages of indigenous nationalities and ethnic minorities, the teaching of the languages of USSR peoples and of the Russian language as a means of interethnic contacts—this range of questions profoundly perturbs our readers. Different opinions clash in the flood of responses to the articles "A Thread Linking Our Souls" by E. Kondratov (issue No 75), "To Hear Each Other Out" by V. Shelike (issue No 168), and others. For example, V. Shelike's idea that everyone should be entitled to decide for himself whether or not to study the language of the nationality among whose people he lives prompted a sharply negative assessment from most readers.

Norms for using national languages and the language of interethnic contacts are enshrined in the USSR Constitution. But the actual implementation of what is proclaimed by the fundamental law has been far from easy.

Having looked at readers' letters at the editorial office's request, writer Vasil Bykov expresses his view on these problems.

[Shimanskiy] Vasily Vladimirovich, some of the letters are quite angry. How, in your view, is one to explain such a stormy response to so-called "old-fashioned approaches and views"?

[Bykov] I think that nowadays attitudes toward the culture of another nation are one of the main indicators of society's moral maturity. It is impossible to build a humane society, let alone a multinational society, without a respectful attitude toward the languages of all ethnic groups, even the smallest ones. Despite certain successes on the part of futurology, the future is still veiled in uncertainty and it is perfectly possible that even the most insignificant culture, once it has developed, might be able to enrich the great culture of mankind. Not all nations have been lucky in history. Some have disappeared almost without trace, and every such occurrence represents an irreparable loss for mankind. Academician D.S. Likhachev, a wonderful scientist and citizen of our time, is perfectly justified in advocating preservation of the remnants of vanished cultures and in urging that every effort be made to protect vanishing cultures. Indeed, is it not the task of our contemporaries to ensure that the 21st century is a truly humanist century?

The problem of national languages, in the form in which it today appears, is by no means a linguistic problem, as some people think, but a humanist problem, probably the most vital one facing our democratization. Had it not been for our experiences in Stalin's time and the "stagnation" period, had our culture developed in normal democratic conditions, this largely unexpected problem would not have arisen. Nations would have been able to solve it painlessly and naturally in the process of democratic self-development. Alas, there was no natural development and we have come up against it as though against a brick wall. The letters from IZVESTIYA's readers—pointed and filled with sincere anguish and profound anxiety—are one more confirmation of this.

Language is a nation's most valuable asset.

But what I would describe as two diametrically opposed views on language have existed in life for a long time. Some people perceive it only as a means of contact, others as a people's soul, an expression of a people's character and originality. It could even be said that language is a kind of gene bank of national culture. It is well known, for example, that for centuries the Belorussians were deprived of their own statehood and existed in conditions of cruel social oppression. We were deprived of a lot. But the one thing we always kept was our native language, we had our folklore, and this gave rise to hope for the rebirth of national awareness, culture, and statehood. Had we been deprived of our language, we would have disappeared from the face of the earth like the Yatvigs who inhabited Northwest Belorussia in the past and are now only mentioned in annals.

If there is a national language, there is also a nationality.

The problem of national language continues to exist in an atmosphere in which our awareness is unprepared for its radical solution, even though a solution is so simple and natural in conditions of democratization. And I do not see this solution at all as coming from the language of interethnic contacts or some other language. Interethnic contradictions can be successfully resolved only when their solution does not hurt the interests of other nations. People are perplexed when it comes to language: How can knowledge of a language hurt anyone? How can contacts on the basis of such knowledge hurt anyone? In life it is necessary to arrive at peaceful coexistence among the numerous languages of USSR peoples while—and this goes without saying—having a language of interethnic contacts common to all, a role which everybody recognizes is played by the Russian language. Which one should be the main language? I think that this question is not valid in this case: The native language is native (like your mother, father, or motherland), while the acquired language is used for business, for life, for contacts with people of other nationalities.

It must be admitted, however, that such a scheme is fine only in theory. Practice is different. Our schools in national republics have long confidently promoted the Russian language as an alternative to the native language, and millions of school pupils scorn the language of their forebears. But, deprived of the foundation provided by a native language, they doom themselves to linguistic illiteracy.

[Shimanskiy] The problem of bilingualism is easier to solve in, for example, Latvia or Armenia, but what is an Uygur or a Dungan to do in Kirghizia? Does he necessarily have to study Russian, Kirghiz, and his native language?

[Bykov] The language problem is different in the country's different regions. While the main difficulty for Estonians is to gain access to the Russian language environment, for Belorussians it is to return to the indigenous language, which has been almost totally withdrawn from use. Now it is impossible to manage in any republic or any sphere of human activity without knowledge of the Russian language. But to painlessly disregard the national language in a national republic is equally illogical. The ethnic multilingualism of which V. Shelike writes is no justification at all for a linguistic standardization.

About 80 ethnic groups, each with its own language, live in Kirghizia, while Ukrainians comprise 80 percent of the population of the Ukraine, yet there are just as many complaints, as N. Leshchenko from Dnepropetrovsk

Oblast correctly writes. During the twenties and especially the thirties, Belorussia had, in addition to Belorussian schools, also Russian, Polish, and Jewish language schools which, with the passage of time, were abolished, supposedly to consolidate the Belorussian schools. But this intolerance toward foreign language schools eventually resulted in the elimination of Belorussian language schools as well. The quantitative correlation between ethnic groups does little to clarify our problem, which can be solved only on the basis of genuine Leninist principles, which were unpardonably distorted by the Stalinist leadership.

Now there is a degrading and intolerable sense of national hurt when people of an indigenous nationality are ashamed to openly converse in the language of their forebears. Ultimately, this is the primary cause of national nihilism, of the rejection of national roots. On the other hand, it gives rise to extremist actions by those who are impatient and driven by injured national pride.

[Shimanskiy] Vasily Vladimirovich, how do you nevertheless perceive the solution of this problem?

[Bykov] Problems of this kind are customarily solved within a democratic society and not transferred to the interethnic arena. It is a great pity that this is not happening in our country. But we are, after all, learning democracy, though, judging by everything, we have gained only an elementary knowledge of it. In this situation we clearly need an all-union forum, genuine glasnost, and the understanding and support of all nations, primarily of the Russian people. The Russian intelligentsia is the social force which must be the first to comprehend the sheer complexity of this problem, to realize that the peoples' striving for linguistic self-determination is not a perversion of idle minds, not a substitute for knowledge of the Russian language, but a necessity.

Quite often the most ossified obscurantism, conservatism, and ideological intolerance of the former years of stagnation operate under cover of internationalist phraseology. This sort of internationalism is nothing but thinly veiled chauvinism. Nowadays, however, this phenomenon has learned to skillfully camouflage itself and rarely appears in its pure form. This is most clearly noticeable in attitudes toward foreigners, which is frankly demonstrated with enviable consistency by the "Pamyat" Society, which we know only too well.

The great and mighty Russian language is the foundation of a great and mighty culture and of a component of contemporary civilization on earth. Its importance in the destiny of Soviet peoples is indisputable. Most of the writers whose letters I read believe that the Russian language is the common language of all fraternal peoples in the USSR. In my view, however, when the language question is raised there must be not even a trace of either-or; what we need is both-and: by virtue of desire, birth, the heart's prompting, or vital necessity. This is the stance that must become imperative for any non-Russian, and if Russians adopt it as well, even more praise and glory to them.

[Shimanskiy] There is also the following delicate question: Should those who migrate to different republics learn the language of the indigenous population? S. Khachaturov from Tula Oblast believes that this is primarily a moral question. Respect for the language of the people among whom you live is a source of unity, good, and peace. On the other hand, A. Akseyenko from Dnepropetrovsk writes: "What we need is to ensure that our children are literate, primarily in the Russian language. My view is: Children must study the language they will need in their future life, and this decision must be made by parents on their children's behalf."

[Bykov] To impose anything on citizens in a modern state is an incorrect and fruitless task: And this also applies to languages. Forcing people to study something they do not wish to learn cannot produce any proper results, even if the semblance of study is maintained. Nowadays it is far more fruitful and more democratic to proceed from intrinsic interest, including when it comes to learning languages. Society's task, in my view, is to sensibly encourage this desire to learn other languages, to create sociopolitical interest in a good cause which conforms with the interests of nations and therefore the state. Especially in a multinational state formation like our union.

In this regard, Belorussia came up against numerous difficulties and drew a number of serious conclusions. Namely: To teach children their native language as early as possible—in the family, the kindergarten, and the first grade at school; to make provision for school graduation and VUZ entrance examinations in the language. This was by way of the most immediate step. I would go further and propose that party and soviet leaders, when addressing the republic's Belorussian-speaking population (which amounts to about 80 percent, according to census data), should use its native language.

One can understand the complaints of the section of the republic's population which does not belong to the indigenous nationality and its unwillingness to learn a language which they can manage without knowing if they live in, for example, Minsk as easily as if they were living in Saratov. Indeed, knowledge of the Russian language alone is perfectly sufficient. This is true from the practical point of view, but the ideas of ethics, of special tactfulness not only toward what is one's own but also toward what belongs to other people, are not alien to a civilized democratic society.

During the twenties, when V.I. Lenin's behests in the sphere of national relations were still fresh in people's memory, we had no such problems. After the opening of a number of VUZ's in Belorussia, in view of the shortage of lecturer cadres, many professors were invited in from

Moscow and Leningrad. They quickly mastered the Belorussian language and successfully lectured Belorussian students in it. Nowadays this is probably impossible, if only because the majority of Belorussian students enroll in VUZ's without proper knowledge of their native language, having been weaned from it back at school.

I am profoundly convinced that there are no reasons offering an even slightly cogent justification for the expediency of avoiding knowledge of something needed by the people and their culture. Obviously, only young people can correct the mistakes committed by the older generations. I think that O. Kramar from Kharkov is correct in saying in his long and wonderfully well argued letter to the editorial office that not everything will be lost if the young intelligentsia generation comes to see the disappearance of native languages as a loss. Of course, in the prevailing situation, the language of the indigenous nation finds it very difficult to compete with the language of interethnic contacts. Almost all social ideas and all important state and party acts are conceived and executed in Russian, and anyone who is fluent in both languages will automatically gravitate toward the language of the original.

[Shimanskiy] But given a thorough study of the Russian language in the republics, and this is certainly necessary, there will probably be less need for translations. Languages will coexist normally in every person's daily life. It is very important to avoid distortions and shifts from one position to its diametrical opposite. Here we have L. Lvov from Baranovichi who takes a categorical stance: "I am at a total loss to comprehend the great fuss around the artificially created question of language here in Belorussia. Mandatory tuition in a particular language smacks of nationalism."

[Bykov] I would discount the frequently cantankerous accusations of nationalism leveled against people who take a stand against linguistic discrimination. Most of them are honest young people and profoundly sensitive members of the intelligentsia who are worried about something which may not yet be self-evident to everyone. Their obvious and in many cases burning impatience in this regard is without question a reaction (maybe not always appropriate or justified) to the displays of injustice which have formed the language problem over the decades. I know of instances in Minsk when the vanishing national language has been defended by so-called informal associations of young people ("Tyteyshyya," "Talaka," "Pakhodnya," and some others) which have immediately been rebuffed by some members of the leadership, which should bear a considerable share of the blame for the prevailing situation. But those who issue prohibitions obviously assume that any initiative which is not launched from the top is against the law.

Unfortunately, mankind has still not learned to live as a united and peaceful family on a global scale, but it has gained considerable experience with national existence. Common sense proves the value of this experience, which ought to be preserved and developed because in our time (just like at all other times, by the way) there are too many forces creating discord, enmity, and dissension, with the most terrible consequences for people.

Lukyanov Presents Airmen Awards in Kremlin

PM1810143788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Presentation of Awards"]

[Text] On 15 October in the Kremlin A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented a large group of airmen with badges and certificates of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the award of the honorary titles "Honored Pilot of the USSR," "Honored Navigator of the USSR," "Honored Military Airman of the USSR," "Honored Military Navigator of the USSR," "Honored Test Navigator of the USSR," and "Honored Test Parachutist of the USSR."

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government, A.I. Lukyanov warmly congratulated the comrades on the award of the honorary titles and wished them new successes in mastering modern aircraft equipment.

Radio Industry Minister Shimko Reassigned

PM1810153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade Vladimir Ivanovich Shimko of his duties as USSR minister of the radio industry in connection with his transfer to other work.

Ministry Aides Comment on 'Riot Units' Decree

PM1810092688 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
12 Oct 88 p 24

[Giulietto Chiesa dispatch: "Riot Units in USSR"]

[Text] Moscow—The resolution is condensed into a little over two pages comprising six articles. From the beginning two important points emerge: The "internal" troops, an "integral part of the Soviet Armed Forces," "become part of the USSR Interior Ministry system." Furthermore, "special motorized militia units"—already under the Interior Ministry—now become part of the "internal troops"; that is, they are being further militarized, in a sense. The "internal troops" will be recruited from the ranks of the Armed Forces (Article 1), while their tasks are being extended—no longer only the defense of civilian targets, special consignments, surveillance of penal colonies and reformatories, and so forth.

Now they are called on to "cooperate with Interior Ministry bodies in the defense of public order (Article 2.) Their duties detailed in Article 3 include "helping to maintain public order during mass politicosocial initiatives" and, above all, "preventing violations of public order when they assume a mass character, constitute a threat to citizens' lives and well-being, disrupt enterprises' work...." The political significance of the measure is already fully apparent. But that is not all. Article 3 also states that the employment of these troops is "decided by the USSR Interior Ministry and, in special cases, with the USSR Council of Ministers' agreement." In this connection "it is forbidden to place these units under the jurisdiction of local authorities." A subsequent article defines the extent of their powers of intervention, including (Article 5, Section B) the authority to "enter private apartments and public offices and organizations in search of persons suspected of having committed crimes," to "isolate territorial areas and individual buildings (Section D), and to "suppress mass disorders, group violations of public order, and other antisocial activities" (Section G). In the latter instance there is authorization for the use—"in exceptional circumstances"—of "special measures," as "defined by the Interior Ministry with the Justice Ministry's approval." Last, Article 6 explicitly envisages the use of firearms—albeit only "in exceptional circumstances and as a last resort." It is specified that in all such circumstances "a report will be filed immediately to the district attorney." There is a ban on the use of firearms "in crowded streets, squares, and other public places," but only "when bystanders could be hurt." There is also a ban on the use of firearms against women and minors "except in the case of an armed attack on their part" (Article 6).

This is the essence of the "ukaz" approved 28 July. As soon as I read it I decided to telephone the Supreme Soviet Presidium for an authoritative comment and some explanations. However, an official politely replied that it is not the Presidium's responsibility to provide explanations in this regard: "Try the Interior Ministry." I took his advice but extended my inquiries further. I also telephoned the Justice Ministry and the USSR Academy of Sciences' State and Law Institute. My efforts were successful. Both ministries replied favorably and the following day I entered the Interior Ministry on Sadovaya-Sukharevskaya Street.

A surprise awaited me. I requested a "high-level" meeting, though without specifying at what level. In fact I was received by Militia Major General Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Ogorodnikov, first deputy chief of the Interior Ministry's Main Administration for the Maintenance of Public Order, no less—the very man in charge of the "internal troops." He was flanked by two other people—one in uniform, the other in civilian clothes, neither of them identified. I asked: Did any similar provisions exist before? Vyacheslav Ogorodnikov said: "The is the first decree of its kind. The militia's duties were previously defined. However, this new law must be related to the newly approved regulations on authorized public demonstrations."

Why is the use of internal troops considered necessary for the defense of public order? I received the following laconic reply: "The militia's strength is inadequate."

But do you not believe that the powers envisaged by the decree are very extensive? Enough even to permit emergency situations in which a minister—that is, a member of the executive—can become the arbiter in resolving social and political conflicts through the use of force? Some of the norms, such as that conferring the power to break into private apartments, clearly depart from the Constitution, which asserts the inviolability of the home in the absence of prior authorization from the judiciary. The major general disagreed: "I really do not believe that these regulations conflict with the Constitution. On the contrary, the law constitutes a step forward toward the socialist state of law and the legal development of our state life...." However, his reply was brusquely interrupted by the man in civilian clothes, who addressed me sternly as follows: "Can you explain to me why you approached the Interior Ministry. Are you not accredited to the Foreign Ministry? Why did you not put these questions to Gerasimov?

Having started as interviewer, I found myself put in the position of "interviewee"—and not very politely. Perhaps the young man in civilian clothing was a Foreign Ministry official? "No, I am from the Interior Ministry," he replied in a far from conciliatory tone. In that case, I said, I cannot understand it. During my years in Moscow I believe I have conducted hundreds of interviews. I have not always requested the Foreign Ministry's mediation to secure them, however. On the contrary, in most cases I have pursued other paths. In any case, the very fact that I am here with you shows that this conversation is possible: Otherwise, why would I have been granted the meeting—and in record time? The official in civilian clothes said nothing and scowled. Our conversation resumed. The atmosphere remained tense, however, as though my request for clarifications had touched on some kind of state secret. In fact the decree was published in an official press organ available to anyone who can read.

So I said: I am struck by this explicit ban on placing these units under the jurisdiction of local authorities. What does it mean? General Ogorodnikov believes it is a democratic guarantee. "It is the ministry that decides, entirely independently. The regulations concern exceptional situations involving the restoration of public order and their application is envisaged only in entirely exceptional circumstances."

How do you select these internal troops? I asked. "They are Armed Forces draftees who, of course, receive special training."

Our time was up but I ventured another question: How many of these troops are there? The general—not yet 50 years old, imposing, but with a winning smile—said: "If I were a diplomat I would tell you I do not know. However, as you can well understand...."

I did indeed understand. As I expected, nobody told me how many of these troops there are and where they are based. However, by that time I was due at the Justice Ministry in Obukhova Street. There the atmosphere was more relaxed. I was received by deputy department chief Vladimir Ivanovich Smorodinskiy, with the Foreign Relations Department's Konstantin Bakhmanov. I asked the same questions. Smorodinskiy explained: "It is unquestionably an important matter. But it is a positive step forward. It must be borne in mind that the "vnutrenniye voyska," the internal troops, existed before—they have existed since 1918—and were previously used for public order tasks. Since then, however, their powers have been much better defined. Furthermore, hitherto these troops were subject exclusively to Armed Forces legislation."

I pointed out that they are still "an integral part of the Armed Forces," however. "Yes," came the reply, "but they are under the Interior Ministry's jurisdiction. Furthermore their tasks have now been specified and the limits of their powers defined. This is something new."

[Chiesa] Were there not previously laws governing these matters?

[Smorodinskiy] There was a 1973 decree ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet in June the same year. It concerned the militia's tasks, however.

[Chiesa] Is there anything new with regard to the use of firearms?

[Smorodinskiy] Nothing new, except that the circumstances—exceptional, remember—in which this can take place have now been laid down in law. So I consider this law a step forward in glasnost because it makes the regulations public and informs the population.

[Chiesa] How do you explain the ban on placing these troops under local authority control?

[Smorodinskiy] They do not always have the capability to deal with public order matters. It would be the opposite of democracy. Central control is needed to avert the abuse of local bodies. This has already occurred, as you know. However, the chairman of a local executive committee can still issue orders to the militia: not to internal troops, however. Similar regulations exist in Western countries too.

[Chiesa] So this too is clear: In the event of large-scale national disorders it is desired not to leave control of public order in the hands of local authorities. Sumgait and Armenia have shown that national thrusts can contaminate even local party and state officials. Does this mean that not even the interior ministry of a union republic—Azerbaijan, Estonia, or Armenia, for instance—will have any decisionmaking power in this connection?.

[Smorodinskiy] The USSR Interior Ministry alone decides. However, I want to make it clear that this decree was not drawn up following the Nagorno-Karabakh events. A start was made on examining this matter at the beginning of the year by a very large commission comprising Supreme Soviet deputies; officials of the Interior Ministry, our own ministry, the labor unions, and Komsomol; and legal experts. So this was well before the events in Azerbaijan and Armenia. There is no cause and effect relationship between the two.

[Chiesa] In view of the importance of the issue, could it not have been made the subject of a broad public debate in the press? After all, this was done with the laws on economic reform and the cooperatives. Why was the same procedure not followed with this delicate issue?

[Smorodinskiy] Perhaps. I do not see this need, however. They are not matters that concern the population. What can the man in the street say about public order issues? It is a highly technical matter. [Smorodinskiy ends]

Perhaps. Hitherto the Soviet press has said nothing about the decree, which emerged right in the middle of the summer. However, newspaper offices are already receiving letters demanding statements and a debate. There will be no lack of statements when the Supreme Soviet has to approve the measure. One thing is certain: Not everyone agrees with Smorodinskiy. And anyone can see that the law is designed with a view to coping with harder times.

'Death Sentence' on Chernobyl Questioned

PM1410155788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Levada article under the rubric "A Writer's Notes": "Should Chernobyl Continue To Exist?"]

[Text] Kiev—In 1993 Chernobyl will mark the 800th anniversary of its first mention in the annals (if it still exists, that is). According to legend it was burned down by marauders at that time, but it was soon rebuilt and became even more beautiful.

But will it rise again now after the invisible onslaught of the merciless radioactive nuclides, will it return to life, will it survive its nuclear eclipse?

In practical life two mutually exclusive trends have already taken shape in the approach to the solution of this problem. The polarization of views on the future fate of both Chernobyl itself and the whole circular 30 km zone is also becoming increasingly pronounced.

The first trend envisages a gradual return to life and human activity in the area. (Naturally, the most contaminated 10 km zone in the immediate vicinity of the AES is not part of the discussion: It is referred to as the exclusion zone).

Are there many examples of the translation into practice of the good intentions to prepare for and gradually implement the return home of the population evacuated from the 30 km zone more than 2 years ago? Clearly, there must be enough of them to have prompted Hans Blix, director general of the IAEA, to state at a scientific conference devoted to the medical aspects of the accident at Chernobyl AES held in Kiev last May: "The radiation situation has radically improved. People are returning home. This can be taken as a good sign."

A statement by A. Romanenko, Ukrainian minister of health, also sounded hopeful. He said: "Our examinations show that there are no radioactive nuclides in foliage 2 years after the accident." At a press conference in connection with the same scientific forum in Kiev Professor L. Buldakov, corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences, said: "People have returned to some 20 villages. If there are on average around 200 people per village that means that around 4,000 people have returned."

And here is a concrete example from Mogilev Oblast in the Belorussian SSR.

"The village of Gden is located some 18km from Chernobyl; 245 households were evacuated from here. They returned to their homes 6 months later. N. Setko, chairman of the rural soviet, and kolkhoz leaders V. Koval and M. Skidan showed me over the improved village. Since people's return, 16km of water mains have been laid, roads and streets have been asphalted, and a nurse and midwifery medical center and a machine operators' center have been built. New slate roofs are gleaming on many houses. Two weddings have taken place, three children have been born. Livestock is multiplying. Before the accident the kolkhoz members kept 70 cows, now there are 106. Every household keeps a pig, some even two."

There is no denying that this is pleasing information. The decontamination in this area has clearly been very thorough and has been repeated several times. Even the roofs have been replaced on some houses.

It must be noted that examples of this kind can only be cited with reference to the Belorussian part of the 30km zone, although, as is well known, during the first days after the accident at the AES the wind was blowing precisely in that direction and therefore the radioactive contamination was worse there.

Unfortunately, not one example on the lines of Gden village can be cited from the Ukrainian side of the contaminated area, that is from Chernobylskiy Rayon itself.

That does not mean that no one has returned to the villages of Chernobylskiy Rayon. People have returned, and quite a few of them. According to Chernobylskiy Rayispolkom people are now living in almost all the evacuated villages. These "returnees" now total 994!

They are living in their own homes (which, incidentally, they have put in exemplary order), they are going about their business, growing potatoes on their vegetable plots, and even strawberries. Here and there they are beginning to keep livestock.

How did these 994 kolkhoz members, mostly old but entirely fit for work, manage to return home and in relatively large numbers at that? It appears they simply went back. Avoiding the checkpoints, "following the animal tracks," as they call it in the rayon now. Chernobylskiy Rayispolkom (now located on the border of the danger zone in Gornostaypol village) is helping them where it can: A mobile store selling bread and some other food products is sent out to the villages, electricity supplies to the inhabited houses have been restored, telephone links with all such villages have be reestablished, and so forth.

Only the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation Kombinat Production Association knows nothing about these people and chooses to ignore them. Yet, for some reason, it is Kombinat which has full control in Chernobylskiy Rayon. It (Kombinat) also has the prerogative to decide whether the city of Chernobyl itself should (albeit in the future) exist or not.

Naturally, Kombinat has not broadcast its strategic intentions in respect of Chernobyl and the villages of the rayon, it has answered queries to this effect evasively, and it has interpreted glasnost in its own sweet way. And only now that there have been the first attempts to raze homes in Chernobyl to the ground is it no longer possible to hide behind a veil of secrecy, and an explanation has been given, albeit only to those who work within the Kombinat system.

This explanation appeared in the association newspaper TRUDOVAYA VAKHTA in an article by V. Komarov, deputy chief engineer of the Kombinat Production Association. He writes:

"Today, difficult though it is morally to admit it, the radiation situation in Chernobyl is such that normal life cannot resume here for decades. ...Seriously, if this area is to be returned to life, the set task cannot be achieved without first getting rid of the buildings. At first demolition was considered only for dilapidated buildings. On the other hand, by the time normal life returns here, all the buildings will be dilapidated and unfit for living in. So it is hardly worth preserving anything! This is our plan. We would call it a strategy."

So this is the "strategic task" of the Kombinat Production Association which represents the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation in Chernobyl, the task which it has carefully kept secret for the past 2 years. This then is the precise shape of the diametricaly opposed trend in the approach to the solution of the future of Chernobyl and all of Chernobylskiy Rayon which will affect the fate of many thousands of people.

First of all, let us express amazement at the fact that this kind of decision, which is of statewide importance, is apparently being made by the engineers of a temporary production association. By what right?

Clearly, the Kombinat leadership believes that it is not for the Academy of Sciences or a government resolution to decide whether an 800-year old city now known throughout the world should be demolished but they, the rulers of Chernobyl, who are invested with full, if temporary, powers.

Was it not awareness of the temporary nature of its powers in Chernobyl which led the Kombinat leadership in June this year to embark with such haste on the demolition of Chernobyl—in accordance with its "strategic task?"

To begin with they burned down one house. As an experiment—they explain. Incidentally, what a strange experiment.

Then bulldozers were let loose on two streets in the most picturesque part of Chernobyl—Podol. They razed the houses to the ground and buried the debris on the spot. They explain: They were very old houses, ready to collapse. This is not true. Almost all were in a good condition. Out of the first dozen houses demolished by the bulldozers three were completely new. They had only been finished a short time before the accident at the AES. Why cover up the truth?

Post facto comes the second explanation: These houses were, allegedly, also demolished "as an experiment."

So these are the two "experiments" which the Chernobyl people have witnessed this year. There has been no third experiment. Nor has there been a single attempt during the past 2 and ½ years to carry out a comprehensive and thorough decontamination (including the replacement of roofs, for instance) in even one or two streets in the selfsame picturesque district of Podol, or anywhere else for that matter—not in the center of the city with its multistory buildings, or among the dwellings of the former inhabitants of Chernobyl now dispersed throughout the Ukraine.

Just as there has been no interest, not even experimental interest, in the circumstances of the 994 former kolkhoz members from the rayon who have returned to their villages.

What is the radiation level like in those villages? The former kolkhoz members who live there are not too sure about this: They usually quote military radiation experts working in the zone as having told them that "it is possible to live here, but you have to be careful." It must further be taken into account that the radiactive contamination here is "patchy" rather than general because that is how the radioactive nuclides settled here, and there are large sections in the zone with a normal, background radiation.

In Chernobyl itself, that is 18km from the AES, the level of the gamma radiation background is 0.1 milliroentgens per hour or less, according to the Kombinat information department. This is the same as the natural background radiation in mountain regions and double the present constant background radiation in Kiev.

In practical terms the difference is not very great and it does not represent the crux of the problem. The crux of the problem lies in the state of the soil, that is to say in the degree of its contamination both in Chernobyl and in each individual village in the rayon.

No one has carried out any "experimental deep plowing" or any "other measures" either in Chernobyl or in the villages of the rayon. Such experiments are being conducted only in Pripyat, in the immediate vicinity of the nuclear power station.

Furthermore it is quite obvious that the very "patchiness," that is the uneven distribution of the radioactive nuclides, makes it incumbent on Kombinat to adopt a particularly thoughtful attitude to ascertaining and making public the conditions of possible habitation in various parts of the zone.

I have to make one reservation here. I would not like the polemical thrust of the views stated here on some aspects of the work of the Chernobyl Kombinat Production Association to be taken as a condemnation or underestimation of the rest of its work. That is the last thing I want. The tremendous efforts of the Kombinat in eliminating the consequences of the accident at the AES itself, decontaminating the city of Pripyat and the center of Chernobyl, and constructing Slavutich—the power workers' city—have earned Kombinat profound recognition of its services in this very complex and highly responsible task. In these spheres of activity Kombinat's departmental interests and the interests of the public at large coincide completely.

It is the matters which lie outside Kombinat's departmental sphere—its indifferent attitude to the fate of Chernobyl itself and the villages of the zone—which attract criticism. Kombinat must not forget that the Ministry of Power and Electrification (and now the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation) has neither a moral nor a legal right to shrug off its responsibility

vis-a-vis the inhabitants of this—until recently blessed—region, just as it has no right to write it off before it has exhausted all the possibilities for reviving it.

Let us take a look at another argument which is being cited to corroborate the need to demolish Chernobyl. People at the Kombinat Production Association information and public relations department tried to persuade us that the homes in Chernobyl have to be demolished also because of the unhygienic state they are in because the inhabitants did not have time to clean them up properly at the time of the hurried evacuation. Some did not empty their refrigerators, and here and there you can even find a dead cat inside a room....

The references to slovenly home owners are unjustified here, especially since during the 1st year after the accident few of them were allowed to return to put their homes in order. It is true that many Chernobyl homes are in an unhygienic state at present, but this is the fault not of their original occupiers but rather of the looters who raided them many times over.

However, there is nothing simpler than to clear up the unhygienic conditions which prevail in some Chernobyl homes—conditions that are quite understandably causing concern to Kombinat. All that would have to be done is to let their former inhabitants know that they can come to Chernobyl for a day or two to clear up their homes and the adjoining plots.

However, this kind of "experiment" is not being carried out. On the contrary, the former Chernobyl inhabitants have been forbidden to return to their city. No permission can be obtained. During the past 2 years when the radiation level was much higher it was possible to obtain such permission, but now it is no longer possible. Under any circumstances.

Is it feasible right now to raise the question of an early general return home of the inhabitants of Chernobyl and the villages of the rayon located in the zone? Clearly, it is not. Thoughtful, painstaking work is necessary to prepare such a return step by step. What is needed is work, not passiveness and indifference.

Furthermore, as far as Chernobyl itself is concerned, it would probably be justified to compile preliminary lists of homes and outbuildings which really are dilapidated and cannot be restored and genuine (not imaginary) "tumble-down" buildings which, with a view to maximum decontamination, it would be expedient to demolish (this must, without fail, be done with the participation of the Chernobylskiy Rayispolkom, since the Chernobyl city soviet was dissolved last year). And of course full compensation, rather than just insurance compensation, would have to be paid. There will not be many such buildings. Chernobyl, despite its 800 years, is a hale and hearty, youngish-looking city, and its houses are, as a rule, quite sound. I would like to stress that this would have to be done with the participation of the rayispolkom and in conditions of complete glasnost.

Meanwhile, it has emerged that a draft for the abolition of the Chernobylskiy administrative rayon and, consequently, the disbanding of the rayispolkom, the party raykom, and other rayon organizations and institutions is already being examined at various levels. It is proposed to hand over seven surviving villages of Chernobylskiy Rayon which are located outside the zone to a neighboring rayon and to consider the question closed.

But what is to happen to the 994 former kolkhoz members who are currently living in the zone? Who will take care of them and under whose jurisdiction will they be placed? After all, social and everyday care for these people is not part of Kombinat's sphere of competence. Yet trying to evacuate them again from their homes, which they have restored, and to evacuate them by force this time.... I cannot even imagine how anyone could do this.

It is also impossible to imagine discussing the future fate of Chernobyl and all the villages in the zone without the participation of rayon, and also oblast and republic soviet and party organs.

Let us be hard on ourselves and ask: Is it really rash or maximalist on our part to raise the question of the need to preserve and try to decontaminate the bulk of the buildings in Chernobyl, to preserve the city itself, or in any event to be in no hurry to pass a death sentence on it? The answer is unequivocal: By no means! What question of maximalism, what question of rashness can there be! What is at stake here is making sure that we do not come too late, that we do not find ourselves in the position of people being asked to contribute to a wake after a city and the Polesye villages around it have been buried forever.

It is not a question of maximalism or of haste. On the contrary, what we want is to make sure that these questions are discussed and resolved thoughtfully and comprehensively, without a feverish pushing through of ill-considered bulldozer measures, and without a certain department getting carried away with its seemingly unlimited power.

It is the other side that is displaying unjustified haste, it is the zealots who advocate that Chernobyl be demolished without delay and who, furthermore, are trying to resolve this question behind closed doors, carefully concealing from the public their measures aimed at the destruction of the city and of the whole rayon. There is a Ukrainian proverb: "Don't poke your nose into hell ahead of your father." We would like to advise the Kombinat management to heed it.

In conclusion I feel compelled to say a few words about those who "against better judgment and despite the elements" have returned to their houses and cottages in the villages of Chernobylskiy Rayon. Looking into their beaming faces it is difficult to decide what is best: To shower them with rebukes, or to share their joy. To tell the truth, it is a long time since I saw people as happy as the recent evacuees who have returned to their home villages.

As reported in the newspaper TRUDOVAYA VAKHTA, a certain Vladimir Sergeyevich Kovalenko lives in Chernobyl on Sadovaya Street. Here is an excerpt from the newspaper: "Suddenly there is a cottage confidently displaying its clean windows, through which freshly whitewashed walls can be glimpsed. The sun's rays sparkle on a small metal plaque near the entrance to the wooden cabin. It reads: "The master of the house lives and works here."

If only Kombinat would enlist such people's help in the reactivation of its buildings in Chernobyl, things could be moving a lot faster....

Atomic Energy Official Discusses Program

PM1310152088 Paris LE MONDE in French 11 Oct 88 p 41

[Interview with Aleksandr Protsenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, by Jean-Francois Augereau and Veronique Maurus—date, place not given]

[Text] [Interviewer] At a time when many countries are scaling down their nuclear programs or even stopping all investment in this sphere, do you think that atomic energy can be the energy of the next century?

[Protsenko] It is true that atomic energy is developing less rapidly than we thought it would a few years ago. But this is also true of energy as a whole. The fact remains that opinion has changed on nuclear power and, as demonstrated by the conference on the safety of nuclear reactors in Avignon, which I have just followed, we must continue to improve safety. I am convinced that despite Chernobyl and the 31 people killed there, atomic energy is the least dangerous of all forms of energy and is therefore the energy of the future.

[Interviewer] In view of the safety problems encountered after the accident at the Chernobyl power station and the drop in the price of hydrocarbon fuels, will the Soviet Union continue its nuclear program at the same rate?

[Protsenko] We cannot say that the price of hydrocarbon fuels has any influence on the development of nuclear energy in the Soviet Union. Of course, the oil and gas sectors receive state subsidies, and this enables them to have relatively low production costs. But this situation should change because these subsidies are going to be discontinued, and that will make the kilowatt-hour cost of atomic energy more competitive. Although it is not yet as low as the cost the French have achieved in their power stations, it is still between 20 and 30 percent cheaper than traditional energy sources. And we hope to do even better soon.

A Slower Program [subhead]

Regarding the rate at which our nuclear power stations are being constructed, there were plans in 1983 to have a capacity of 30,000 megawatts by 1985, and for this to be multiplied by five or seven to reach a total of between 150,000 and 200,000 megawatts by the year 2000; in other words, a rate of construction of between 8 and 12 power units per year. But we have not maintained the plan's objectives because of changes made after the Chernobyl accident in the RBMK type [high-power pressure-tube] and the VVER [light water] pressurized-water reactors. At present our two reactor construction factories are producing less than 10 power units per year, whereas the Izhorskiy plant in Leningrad is capable of producing three per year and the Atommash plant in Volgodansk is capable of producing 10. We will have to work hard to fulfill the plan. But the capacity available by the end of the century in the Soviet Union will be closer to the lower end of the scale of predictions (150,000 megawatts) than the higher end (200,000 megawatts), and this corresponds to around 150 reactors operating by the year 2000, instead of 210.

[Interviewer] In these circumstances, what is happening to the RBMK network to which the Chernobyl reactor belonged? Has the modernization program for these installations been completed?

[Protsenko] With regard to the RBMK reactors, those now under construction will be completed. There are still five to be constructed, and 15 are in service. Since the Chernobyl accident, which cost the Soviet Union a total of 8 billion rubles, we have made many modifications to the reactors in that network. We have voluntarily reduced their capacity in order to improve their safety, and this has cost several tens of millions of rubles per reactor. For instance, we have fitted new neutron absorbers to provide better control over the power stations' operation, we have increased the rate of uranium enrichment from 2 percent to 2.4 percent to obtain more stable operation, and we have changed the system of lowering the fuel rods in emergencies: They can now be lowered in 12 seconds, instead of 18 seconds, and it will soon be possible to lower them in just 2 seconds, as has been tested in two reactors in the Ignalina power station. This last system should also be installed on all RBMK reactors within 2 years.

[Interviewer] Does this mean that nuclear safety takes precedence over the notion of productivity?

[Protsenko] Certainly. So much so that for the future generation of VVER-88 water-pressurized reactors—the plan for which will be completed next year with construction of the first models starting in 1993—we have given priority to safety at the expense of profitability. This costs more. We are working on this program with Siemens, a firm with which we are considering profitable joint operations, as we are with other companies, for carrying out some parts of the plan.

We also intend to complete the VVER-92, another pressurized-water reactor, by the end of 1993, and it will be even safer and, this time, more economical. We hope to have discussions on this subject with the French, and it is possible that we might establish cooperation on some systems with the Atomic Energy Commission and the Franco-American Atomic Construction Company [Framatome]. It is probable that economic and commercial cooperation will be established with Framatome or the French Electric Company in some spheres. For the time being the exact power of the VVER-92 reactors has not been accurately established, but we are hoping to install them starting in the year 2000. In the longer term, in other words after the year 2010, we have further projects for a new generation of pressurized-water reactors with a capacity of 1,800 megawatts or even 2,000 megawatts.

[Interviewer] Do you intend to develop other networks in the future?

[Protsenko] Although the Soviet nuclear program is based essentially on the RBMK and VVER reactors, we are contemplating developing other nuclear networks. First, in the sphere of heat and electric power stations. For instance, in Gorkiy and Voronezh we are completing the construction of two special water-cooled reactors, each with a capacity of 500 megawatts.

In addition, our fastbreeder reactor program has slowed down, we have plans to start running an 800 megawatt unit (BN-800), and we are working on designing a more powerful 1,600 megawatt reactor. On this point we do not rule out the possibility of working with the French or participating in EEC projects. But one thing is certain: We will be very exacting as far as the characteristics of the reactors in this network are concerned.

Regarding high-temperature reactors, we intend to construct two machines of this type: one low power reactor, on which we are cooperating with the Siemens and Asea-Brown-Boveri groups, and one of 1,000 megawatts, which we will construct ourselves, although Asea-Brown-Boveri (alone in this case) may also cooperate with us.

Selling Reprocessing Services [subhead]

[Interviewer] France and Japan have chosen to reprocess irradiated fuel, which makes it possible to recycle the uranium and recover the plutonium produced by the reactors for energy purposes. What is the position in the Soviet Union? Do you believe in the commercial future of reprocessing?

[Protsenko] We have chosen an identical course, but for the time being we are not yet reprocessing fuel from fastbreeder reactors; we only have an experimental installation.

[Interviewer] Are you planning to sell reprocessing services to other countries in the same way as you are now selling uranium enrichment services?

[Protsenko] We sell natural uranium, enriched uranium, or enrichment services in France, the FRG, and the United States in particular. We are trying to expand those sales. To attract clients, we are offering to take back the uranium after it has been burned in power stations. For instance, we are supplying enriched uranium to the FRG and we are promising to take back the irradiated fuel.

But we are not yet offering reprocessing services to foreign countries. We are preparing to do so eventually and are carrying out research. When it is profitable and can be done on a large scale, we will do it. We could work with the French in this sphere too.

[Interviewer] Do you have problems with antinuclear opinion in the USSR?

[Protsenko] This opposition exists and is growing. The problem is that the Chernobyl accident coincided with a veritable "explosion" of public opinion connected with restructuring. People then discovered that it was not just in Western countries that planes crashed and ships sank! Public opinion is in its infancy. That is why we are anxious to improve safety and also to keep the press informed, as we are now doing....

Changes in External Passport Regulations Noted

PM1710135788 Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Oct 88 p 1

[Interview with R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Maintenance of Public Order Main Administration Visa and Registration Department, by own correspondent S. Mostovshchikov under the rubric "We Report Details": "Traveling Abroad on an Ordinary Passport"—date, place of interview not given, first paragraph is TRUD introduction]

[Text] A decision with the aim of further simplifying the procedure for Soviet citizens' travel abroad has been adopted. Permission has been granted to use ordinary Soviet internal passports with a special insert for travel to socialist countries. Our correspondent S. Mostovshchikov has asked R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR

Ministry of Internal Affairs Maintenance of Public Order Main Administration Visa and Registration Department (OVIR), to give us some details.

[Mostovshchikov] Rudolf Alekseyevich, the formalities required for traveling abroad are becoming simpler every year. The character references required in the past have been abolished. It is no longer necessary to give details in the questionnaire about where and in what circumstances you met the person who has invited you, if they are a colleague, for instance. And so forth. So what do we stand to gain from this latest decision?

[Kuznetsov] The first half of the current year has shown that the number of people traveling abroad is rapidly increasing. In comparison with the corresponding period of 1987 the number of private trips alone has doubled. The factories of the Main Administration for the Production of State Badges simply cannot cope with the demand for external passports. This means that people's time is being wasted. After all, what do the formalities to obtain a passport amount to? It is necessary to submit special photographs to Visa and Registration Department staff who will make up the document. Then it is necessary to call at the department and exchange your ordinary passport for an external one and to repeat the procedure in reverse on your return. All this takes time.

The insert, on the other hand, is simple. It will contain a minimum of information—family name, name and patronymic, date of birth, purpose of trip, period and country involved. No photographs. Merely an official stamp and signature. On the reverse side there is space for border guard officials' comments. This one-shot addition to the USSR citizen's passport will do away with the need for an external passport. We are hoping that it will be possible in the future to authorize even rayon internal affairs organs to issue these inserts.

[Mostovshchikov] To what countries will it be possible to travel on an ordinary passport with an insert?

[Kuznetsov] Mainly to CEMA countries. We already have bilateral agreements with them on visa-free trips by citizens traveling on business, for private reasons, medical treatment, and recreation, and also as tourists. So it will be possible to reach agreement with them on the introduction of inserts to our internal passports. As for trips to Yugoslavia, for instance, or China using such documents, I am as yet unable to say whether it will be possible to introduce the necessary changes to the agreements which we have with those countries. In any event, we will work toward this.

[Mostovshchikov] When will the inserts come into force?

[Kuznetsov] Generally speaking, from the new year. However, agreement has already been reached with some socialist countries on crossing their borders with an internal Soviet passport. Even prior to the introduction of inserts we recently stopped issuing external passports to tourists traveling to European CEMA countries and Mongolia. Groups are traveling on the basis of lists of tour participants' names verified by visa and registration apparatus heads, with just the group leader traveling on an external passport.

It must be noted that the first problems have already cropped up. For instance, someone travels abroad on an internal passport but has omitted to affix a recent photograph. He has forgotten to do it, or did not have time. That is all. However, the document is considered invalid....

In short, there will be difficulties. It is unavoidable.

[Mostovshchikov] Tell me, what about trips to capitalist countries? Do you not intend to introduce inserts for those trips?

[Kuznetsov] In those cases it is simpler to issue an external passport. The point is on the one hand that it is issued in a different manner—in accordance with international requirements—and on the other that it is not only we who travel to them but also they who travel to us. For instance, if we propose to them today that U.S. immigration should accept our ordinary passport, tomorrow they will be trying to enter our country on a driver's license or some other means of identification. Yet entry into any country takes place in strict accordance with international treaties in which the types of documents required to cross the border are strictly defined....

However, as the international climate goes on improving, I do not rule out that one day it will be possible to give a positive answer to your question.

[Mostovshchikov] And finally, no matter how much the procedure for traveling abroad has already been simplified, the question of the openness of our borders remains. After all, unless you have an invitation or a tourist voucher you cannot simply go and spend a weekend in Czechoslovakia, for example. Let alone Italy or Austria....

[Kuznetsov] Let's talk sense. After all, what is required for such trips? First of all, the consent of the countries which our citizens want to visit. If you think that people everywhere are waiting with open arms for planeloads and trainloads of Soviet citizens to start descending on them, you are mistaken.

Second, it is no secret that we are not exactly drowning in foreign currency, and the current sharp increase in the number of trips has already given rise to a number of difficulties in changing Soviet rubles, providing people with tickets, and so forth. So, the further simplification of the procedure for Soviet citizens' travel abroad will also depend largely on the pace of restructuring of our economy.

Aviation Official Discusses Ovechkin Hijacking

PM1710131988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with M. Timofeyev, deputy minister of civil aviation, by V. Belikov under the rubric "According to Competent Sources": "Nobody Has Repealed the Laws of the Sky"—date, place not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Sentence was passed in Irekutsk 3 weeks ago in the case of members of the Ovechkin family who tried to hijack an aircraft abroad. Attention remains focused on this sensational and dramatic story. In particular, there are different views of whether the crew of the TU-154 airliner acted correctly.

An IZVESTIYA correspondent asked M. Timofeyev, deputy minister of civil aviation, to describe the laws and rules which were followed by the crew and the ground services on learning about the capture of the aircraft and the hijackers' demands to "fly to London."

[Timofeyev] A special task force started operating the moment a radio message about the threat to blow up the aircraft was received from the TU-154 en route from Kurgan to Leningrad. This task force is made of senior officials from the MVD, the Ministry of Civil Aviation, the Ministry of Defense, and the KGB. The task force's main task in such situations is to save people's lives.

Specialists all over the world are unanimous: There are substantially better chances of saving the passengers if the flight is terminated and the aircraft is on the ground. This is directly provided for by documents of the International Civil Aviation Organization and our own national rules. I can refer to a special statement adopted by the organization's council on 17 June, in other words after the incident with the Ovechkin family and the capture of the Kuwaiti aircraft. It recommends to states that they detain any aircraft that has been captured and has landed on a state's territory. Maybe the passengers and crew would be safer if the aircraft were allowed to take off. But the satisfaction of the terrorists' demands would boost their confidence in their invulnerability. Such an approach would only undermine civil aviation safety.

The task force was making decisions in conditions of strictly limited time (fuel was running out!), but with full consideration for all the possible consequences. Furthermore, there was no accurate information on the number of criminals and their mental state, on the possibility of negotiating with them, or on the weapons and the explosive device smuggled on board.

[Belikov] While we are on the subject of weapons. Why did the crew not use weapons against the terrorists while in flight? All Aeroflot crews on international and domestic flights are armed.

[Timofeyev] Weapons are used only in extreme necessity. According to the TU-154 crew, such a critical situation did not develop while they were airborne.

[Belikov] How was the decision made to have the aircraft land on our country's territory and why was the flight not continued to London, as the Ovechkin family demanded?

[Timofeyev] By demanding to be flown to London, they turned down the initial suggestion to be taken to an airport in Finland. They obviously feared that the Finnish authorities might extradite them to the Soviet Union. Aircraft hijackers are perceived in all countries as dangerous criminals who jeopardize the lives of innocent people, regardless of the motives—political, social, or religious—used to justify such actions.

Harsh punishment is envisaged for such crimes. Culprits may even be sentenced to death in the United States, Japan, Hungary, and a number of other countries. Under the laws of Austria, the FRG, Britain, Canada, Australia, France, Sweden, India, and the Netherlands, air terrorists are liable to life imprisonment. Belgium, Luxembourg, and Czechoslovakia envisage up to 20 years imprisonment and hard labor. Of course, the severity of the penalty increases in the event of loss of life during the capture of an aircraft.

It was impossible to meet the demand to fly to Britain without landing beforehand—the fuel that was left was sufficient only to fly to the Leningrad region. Ultimately the Ovechkin family realized this. But where to land? The task force looked at several options. The TU-154 and its crew could not land at any foreign airport, let alone continue their flight along international flight paths—they had no special navigation systems or instruments on board. The pilots did not have maps for these routes, landing approach maps, or radio communication manuals. Furthermore, they would have had to be familiar with the specific radio jargon in English to talk with other countries' air traffic controllers.

The flight path to London crosses several West European states. Any surprise crossing of their borders, air defense zones, and the thick network of flight paths by some "wild aircraft" not observing established rules and not understanding commands from the ground would have resulted in catastrophic consequences. The task force looked at the possibility of having the aircraft land at the airport of its destination, Pulkovo. This option was also deemed unfeasible, bearing in mind the high density of flights and the mass accumulation of people at a major airport—the TU-154 with armed bandits on board would have placed them in jeopardy.

The crew received a recommendation to land at an airport near Vyborg. The Ovechkin family was informed that the aircraft would be landing in Finland so as to

confuse the criminals and not provoke any extreme actions by them at the most crucial time when the flight would be coming to an end.

[Belikov] Did we observe all the rules of struggle against terrorists in the tragic story with this hijack?

[Timofeyev] Yes, we did. We do not diverge from international rules in any way in terms of either attitudes in principle or observance of individual procedures. Even though, like in any other state, the technology for implementing security measures has its own specific features. All the fundamental provisions of the International Civil Aviation Organization documents on questions of combating acts of illegal interference with civil aviation operations are incorporated in our normative documents which regulate international and domestic flights.

Economic

Gosplan Deputy Chairman Discusses 1989 Plan

Interviewed on Draft Plan

18200008 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 36, Sep 88 pp 1-2, 4

[Interview with Leonard Borisovich Bid, USSR Gosplan deputy chairman, by editorial board of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA: "1989 Plan: Quality of Rate of Growth"—date, place not specified]

[Text] The USSR Gosplan has completed work on the draft State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1989 and submitted it to the USSR Council of Ministers for consideration. The editorial board requested Leonard Borisovich Bid, USSR Gosplan deputy chairman, to answer questions concerning specifics of next year's plan which interest our readers.

[Question] The year 1989 is the fourth year of the current 5-year plan. On what real trends in national economic development and work results in the 12th Five-Year Plan is the draft plan based?

[Answer] Next year wide-scale implementation of the resolutions and proposals set forth at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will begin, and in-depth practical reflection will be given to the decisions of the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum. What is very important is that this is a year for combining economic reform encompassing the entire national economy with the reform of the political system and the acceleration of democratization of Soviet society. These historical turning points, brought about by restructuring, are putting all levels of management of social production into carrying out complex tasks and achieving the noble goals of further acceleration in development of the national economy and social reorientation of the economy.

I would like to re-emphasize the thesis of the 27th CPSU Congress that it is not merely the rates of economic growth that define the concept of acceleration today. Its essence is in a new quality of growth: all possible intensification of production based on scientific and technical progress, and structural and investment reorganization of the economy. Efficiency, quality, and saving resources are becoming the principal factors determining the rates and proportion of development of the national economy. In preparing the draft 1989 state plan, we used as the basis the proposals of enterprises, sectors, and regional management bodies and, based on these Party Congress guidelines, also took into account the practical results of the first half of the current 5-year plan.

In the stage of restructuring which encompassed the period between 1985 and 1987 and, for all intents and purposes, the current year, it was vitally important to overcome the strong tendency that had developed during the stagnant period of lowering of both the rates of economic growth and the people's standard of living. The course advanced by the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum for changing the trend toward a decline in the rates of social and production development has already produced appreciable positive results. As was emphasized at the All-Union Party Conference, the most important of them is expressed in the fact that we have managed to bring the country's economy out of a pre-crisis situation.

Progressive phenomena are continually increasing in the national economy, and healthy forces are building up. This is being helped fundamentally by the new economic thinking and economic methods of management. Acceleration of the development of industrial and agricultural production is indicative of the positive trends. A change has come about in the work of a number of base sectors which for a considerable period of time were a weak point in the national economy. Thus the situation has improved in the oil, gas, and coal industries, in thermal and hydraulic power, and in ferrous metallurgy. Positive changes are also taking place in agriculture. The gross grain harvest exceeded 210 million tons 2 years in a row (1986-1987) for virtually the first time since 1978. The production of meat, milk, and other agricultural products has increased steadily.

The social orientation in development of the economy has intensified considerably, expressed primarily in the strengthening of the material and technical base of the social sphere. The total number of facilities of the social and cultural sphere put into operation has increased markedly. Capital investments for these purposes are outstripping the increase in production investments.

However, the extremely difficult situation that had developed earlier in the social sphere has not made it possible to achieve still larger-scale results in improving the standard of living when taking the country's population growth into account, although the prerequisites for

this have already begun to be created. As was stated at the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the food problem and the problem of providing the population with diverse and quality consumer goods, housing, and medical and other services remain the most critical problems of the current stage.

Achieving virtually the entire increase in national income through an increase in labor productivity has become a fundamentally new characteristic in the development of the economy. This is a real elementary change in resolving the problem of intensifying social production.

The period 1986-1987 marked the beginning of acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Certain steps have been taken in computerizing the national economy. Production of personal computers and microprocessor equipment is increasing. Plan targets for output of control devices and computer equipment have been overfulfilled. A pivotal direction in structural reorganization of the economy is gaining strength—modernization of domestic machine building. Modernization of machine-building products is exceeding the plan. In 1987, it was 9.1 percent, compared to 3.1 percent in 1985.

The scale of technical re-equipment and modernization of production facilities in operation has increased substantially. The percentage of capital investments directed at these goals increased from 33 to 38.7 percent between 1981 and 1985 and in the 2 years of the current 5-year plan has already reached 46.4 percent; that is, it has increased more rapidly.

[Question] So, development of the Soviet economy has become more dynamic. But many of the desirable parameters characterizing the quality of economic growth we need today have not yet been achieved. How do you assess the situation that has developed in this sphere and the prospects for its improvement?

[Answer] In assessing this situation, it would be wrong to paint either just a rosy picture or just a dark picture. We must truly see the initial positive trends, though still quite weak, so that we may rely on them in the future, develop them, and change the negative directions in work at all levels.

Here it is also important to orient ourselves correctly in time. In the first years of the 5-year plan, a quite complex problem was successfully resolved in a difficult situation—to halt the slide toward a crisis and level off and begin an upsurge in economic development. In the first stage, the efforts of sectors of the national economy were concentrated primarily on stepping up the work of labor collectives and moving through political, organizational and emerging economic methods sectors that had become stagnant in their development. It was important to begin acceleration based on high gross rates, too. We still hvae not managed to bring many qualitative characteristics of economic growth to the forefront. But in the economy, which is huge and has a great weight of inertia, the results of objective and complex processes in coming out of the stagnation, getting rid of the burden of the past, and actively mastering new economic thinking are now creating the prerequisites for improving the qualitative indicators.

Here is a typical example of the new possibilities. Many extremely important directions of structural policy were not realized in 1986-1987. Thus the plan targets for production of consumer goods were not fulfilled. Therefore in 1986 the rates of growth of group "A" in industry exceeded the rates of growth of group "B."

In 1987, this most important structural change in national economic proportions was ensured for the first time. Group "A" industry increased against the 1986 level by 3.8 percent, group "B" by 4.2 percent. If we manage to fulfill the targets for the current year, the gap between the rates will increase. In 1988, group "A" should increase by 3.6 percent against last year, and group "B" by 5.8 percent; that is, the gap will be 2.2 percentage points. During the first half of the current year it is somewhat greater—2.3 percentage points.

The 1989 plan will strengthen this trend. A further major change is planned: Group "A" should increase by 2.6 percent over the 1988 level with an increase in group "B" by 6.4 percent, or a difference of 3.8 percentage points.

Such a correlation indicates a growth of the real tendencies in social reorientation of the economy, although it is not all so simple. You see, one must also keep in mind export resources. The point is that our country exports to the world market very few products from group "B" industries. All foreign economic relations are structured on products from group "A," which ensures rather imposing import resources for national consumption.

Thus, group "A" is sort of overloaded today, particularly by the production of fuel and energy resources, and of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, which affects the correlation between groups "A" and "B" and diverts additional capital investments. But this makes it possible to obtain the import resources necessary for developing both groups of industry and public consumption.

What else have we not managed to realize fully during the past period? Machine building surpassed the overall growth of industrial production to a lesser degree than envisaged by the 5-year plan. The quality of machine building products is increasing slowly.

In 2 years, fixed asset commissioning was 96 percent of the 5-year plan targets. More capital investments were spent than planned, which increased the volume of uncompleted construction. This extremely negative trend is also continuing this year.

There also were no positive changes in resource-saving. The rate of decrease in material input per unit of social production in 1986-1987 was only 0.1 percent against 1.4 percent for the 5-year plan, which resulted in an additional requirement for fuel, raw materials, and other materials.

Since the processes of structural reorganizing and resource-saving have not gained the necessary strength and scale, we have not managed to make up for the loss of a certain portion of national income through the effect of factors outside the production sphere. This, and also the weak work in the area of financial improvement of sectors of the national economy, has not enabled us to change the tendency of deterioration of the state's financial situation.

The results of the national economy for the first half of 1988 indicate that positive processes are increasing, but quality and reliability have still not become the alternative to quantity and quantitative rates of growth. Therefore the main requirement, objectively and inevitably, becomes not a pursuit for rates and overall indicators of growth, but ensuring quality parameters and maximum balance of the plan based on resource-saving at high rates in the main directions of development. This is the pivotal idea of next year's plan.

[Question] In 1989, Soviet economics will for the first time develop under conditions where the new economic mechanism will encompass the national economy as a whole, all sectors of material production. In what way were the possibilities and requirements of the new economic mechanism taken into account in developing the draft state plan for 1989?

[Answer] In preparing the draft state plan the USSR Gosplan proceeded from the fact that shifting all enterprises, associations, and organizations of the country to full cost-accounting and self-financing would predetermine the transition from administrative-command relations vertically, to structuring large-scale economic contract relations horizontally, in accordance with the USSR Law on State Enterprise (Association). Also quite important is the fact that with the introduction of the USSR Law on Cooperation, diversity of forms of ownership in the country will increase as a result of the intensification and development of cooperative and mixed forms of production, lease contract, and the democratization of the economic mechanism in agriculture.

Much that is new will appear in planning, in connection with the fact that the Temporary Statute on the Procedure for Forming State Orders for 1989 and 1990 decisively limits the percentage of these orders in the total volume of products (work, services) of enterprises, associations, and organizations. Intra-ministry turnover and series production are excluded from state orders. This means that a substantial portion of the production program of enterprises is determined by the labor collectives themselves, based on the horizontal direct ties of enterprises.

A fundamental increase in the portion of social production being formed simply on the basis of contract relations between enterprises means that sources adequate to the new economic mechanism, such as wholesale trading and direct economic ties, increase in importance in material and technical supply. Understandably this required a reexamination of the fundamental concept of the material balance of the state plan.

Finally, we are continuing to expand the rights and increase the responsibilities of management agencies for the social and economic development of regions, which also affects formation of the plan.

All these conditions for the functioning of the economy in 1989 signify that enterprises, associations, and organizations are reaching a new level of economic and production independence, and also of responsibility.

A top-priority task for the state plan now is to make room for all demonstrations of economic initiative on the part of enterprises, associations, and organizations. The success of radical economic reform will depend to a considerable extent on how enterprises make use of their increased rights and capabilities in the process of implementing the 1989 plan.

It is not just a matter of the structure of the state plan and the composition of its indicators. The degree of intensity of the plan targets adopted by enterprises for qualitative and progressively quantitative parameters, and their balance with material, financial, and labor resources and modernized production capacities—making it possible to ensure the necessary level of resource-saving—will be of decisive importance.

[Question] Taking into account what has been said, how will the state order submitted by the USSR Gosplan look as part of the draft 1989 state plan to the USSR Council of Ministers?

[Answer] Problems related to the state order have been widely covered in the press. Elaborations have been offered in leading scientific organizations and by central economic agencies. All variations, opinions and proposals have been repeatedly discussed at the USSR Council of Ministers, calling in leading economists, a wide range of directors of enterprises, and administrators of agricultural, construction, and other organizations.

We also took into account that very important practical, and often contradictory and negative, experience of enterprises' work on the basis of the state orders which the current year provided. The practice of forming state orders in foreign countries was analyzed. All this work

was expressed in the Temporary Statute on the Procedure for Forming State Orders for 1989 and 1990, approved by the USSR Council of Ministers. It can be said that fundamental progress has been made in increasing the economic independence of enterprises of most sectors, and also in supporting the interests of the country's unified national economic complex. The statute defines a fundamentally new approach to establishing state orders for delivery of products in combination and in interaction with 5-year plan targets, which for 1989 fulfilled the role of control figures.

A state order expressed the requirements of the state for delivery of products by enterprises and for the performance of work and rendering of services to satisfy top-priority social needs; as a rule, it encompasses only part of the production plan of enterprises. Such an approach allows enterprises much freedom in setting up horizontal ties and realizing their economic independence as socialist commodity producers.

All aspects of the temporary statute on state orders are important for successful work during the transitional period of 1989-1990, when the main elements of fundamental economic reform must gain strength. But I would like to draw special attention to the following aspects, important in a practical respect.

The main shortcoming of forming state orders for 1988 was the wide range of targets, encompassing a large part of the capacities of enterprises. This hindered independent development of horizontal ties between enterprises and resulted in centralized distribution of a significant range of products being produced by them.

Beginning in 1989, the state plan and two of its most important instruments—state orders and centralized distribution of resources based on them—have lost their all-embracing nature and directive influence along many directions. The intrasectorial balancing of the work of enterprises based on a wide range of products, work, and industrial services being produced within the corresponding ministries or departments is no longer affected by state orders.

Without the participation of the state order, the balanced work of ministries should now be ensured within the corresponding national economic complexes, based on products being produced by the enterprises included in them. Intersectorial national economic balancing of the needs of enterprises for traditional types of series- and mass-produced products should also be ensured.

Questions of the output of products and work for consumption within an enterprise must be resolved completely on a contract basis. The same also pertains to the output of highly specialized products when producers and consumers have established production ties.

The range of the state order has been reduced considerably compared to the current year. Since it now includes only the volume of products, work, or services being delivered beyond the ministries, departments and national economic complexes, the extent to which the production capacities of enterprises are encompassed by state order is also being sharply reduced.

It is interesting to compare the proportion of products being produced for state order with the total value of the output of corresponding national economic complexes for 1988 and 1988. Whereas in 1988 this output was 86 percent in the machine-building complex, in 1989 it is only 25 percent. In the fuel and energy complex the figures are 95 and 59.4 percent, respectively; 86 and 42 percent in the metallurgical complex; 87 and 34 percent in the chemical and timber complex; 96 and 30 percent in the USSR Ministry of Light Industry; and 66 and 51 percent in the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry.

Of course, in the specifications of the state order by enterprises, and in individual cases not stipulated by this statute, it can happen that the state order will completely encompass a production program. From the center it is sometimes difficult even to foresee, but such a situation should not be dramatized. It is necessary to look into each specific case quickly; there is time for this and time to make a reasonable decision, taking into account both the interests of society and the interests of the specific labor collective.

[Question] The new ideology of forming state orders removes a very large volume of centralized plan commands vertically in national economic complexes. But are we ready to ensure by economic methods the necessary balance in the development of the national economy?

[Answer] This is indeed a very complex task, and 1989 should become the first critical stage on the way to really mastering the economic instruments for regulating the proportions of the national economy. Although centralized commands—what and how much to produce for the most important directions of work—are no longer used in planning on the national economic level, quite complex problems of intrasectorial, intracomplex, and intersectorial (for series production) balancing still remain. They exist objectively, for all enterprises are at the same time both producers and consumers of the corresponding products, work or services.

Therefore, the additional independence given to enterprises in production and work also imposes a great responsibility for ensuring balanced work on the scale of the sector, the national economic complex, and the entire national economy (for mass production), including foreign economic ties.

Economic contracts and business partnerships must now begin working at full tilt. The responsibility of enterprises for delivering products is increasing, as is the role of economic legislation and arbitration.

Contract relations must help relieve the economy of the burden of producing unnecessary products—a direction in which enterprises were pushed by both the gross approach and the inaccuracies of planning from a single center. The main thing is that consumer requirements and quality must take priority in planning, based on economic ties. Direct ties between enterprises are acquiring tremendous importance; national economic balancing is beginning to rely on them to a great extent.

Under these conditions there is an objective need for the broad development of wholesale trading by means of production. It is a single, interlinked process to reduce the volume of their centralized distribution and expand wholesale trading. It appears that 1989 will be a test for the USSR Gossnab and for the entire system of material and technical support, with the large-scale inclusion of wholesale trading in the overall rhythm of the country's production.

The procedure now adopted for determining the state order makes it possible to work on the plan in complete accord with the USSR Law on State Enterprise. Formation of the state order takes place on the national economic level only by means of the USSR Gosplan. Of course, central economic agencies participate in this, and the proposals of enterprises and sector and territorial draft plans are also taken into account. However, the ministries and departments of the USSR now merely inform the corresponding enterprises, associations, and organizations of the state order targets. It would be a mistake, however, to underestimate this very critical work, which requires an in-depth knowledge of the capabilities of enterprises, sectors, and regions. In addition, the headquarters of sectors and regions must work together with enterprises on intrasectorial, intracomplex, and intersectorial balancing, but on a more democratic basis, without using the instrument of state orders.

In the majority of sectors, many enterprises will not have any state orders at all for 1989, other than orders for delivery of consumer goods and rendering services to the population.

[Question] Could you characterize in more detail the goal orientations of the state order for 1989?

[Answer] The main orientation of the state order for next year is to ensure consistently a social re-orientation of the economy. Therefore, during the transition period of 1989 and 1990, the state order for deliveries of consumer goods and rendering of paid services to the people is given in sum totals for the total volume of capacities of the enterprises.

The state order must also create stable working conditions for all sectors of the national economy and for its social and cooperative sectors, and it must ensure the stability of foreign trade relations. This is achieved on the basis of guaranteed deliveries of oil, the most important foodstuffs, light petroleum products, finished metallurgical and chemical products, newsprint, and the most important groups of light industry products for children, young people, and senior citizens. Here it is also advisable to give state orders during the transition period basically for the full capacity of enterprises.

Another goal orientation of the state order is advising enterprises and organizations on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the directions most important to the national economy, and in reality ensuring the necessary structural changes in social and production development. This is achieved by giving state orders for the manufacture of pilot models of the latest equipment, for the development of revolutionary production processes, and for the large-scale output and delivery of new technical equipment, equipment, construction materials, and other progressive materials. The state order for commissioning social projects and production capacities which significantly change the structure of the social and material spheres serves to do this.

So the state order, as a rule, is given for the delivery of products which satisfy the population's demand for consumer goods, for the wide-scale introduction into the national economy of the most important achievements of science and technology, and for progressive structural changes. The state order also ensures the fulfillment of inter-governmental foreign trade agreements, the strengthening of the country's defense capabilities, and the creation of stable working conditions for all sectors of the economy, since it encompasses the products of the base sectors of industry.

The overall picture of the goal-oriented functions of the state order is detailed in a specific system of indicators and targets, which are mandatory for inclusion in the plans of enterprises. Practice, of course, will show ways to further improve the ideology of forming state orders within the overall system of the new methods of economic management.

[Question] The increased independence of enterprises in forming the production program should be reinforced by their new possibilities in the sphere of technical retooling and development. How will matters stand here in 1989?

[Answer] Broad investment activities of enterprises are becoming an important element of economic reform receiving general practical implementation and determining, I would say, the base conditions of its development. The proportion of capital investments through funds earned by enterprises and organizations is rising in the overall volume of state capital investments, to 46.1 percent against 38.4 percent in 1988, 18.8 percent in 1987, and 3.2 percent in 1986.

If you take into account the real conditions of attracting long-term bank credits, it will turn out that the opportunities of enterprises for independent social and production development in 1989 are virtually equivalent to the investment resources of the state.

Thus, beginning next year, commissioning of new production capacities in the petrochemical industry and also for output of steam turbines, freight cars, chemical and petroleum-extracting equipment, motor vehicles, lumber, and most types of instruments will be supported 100 percent based on the investment resources earned by enterprises. In addition, the bulk (70-80 percent) is supported by the same capital investments for commissioning capacities for increasing the output of large electric machines, metal-cutting machine tools, new types of tractors, ferrous metal rolled stock, many food products, and other capacities needed by society.

The USSR Gosplan does not plan capital investments which are formed independently by kolkhozes and other cooperative and social organizations, the use of foreign credits by enterprises and ministries, and resources of the population for individual construction. The total sum of capital investments not planned and not distributed by the USSR Gosplan in 1989 exceeds state centralized capital investments by a factor of 1.2.

One cannot underestimate the importance of such major capital uncentralized resources which create a practical basis for resolving pressing social problems and accelerating scientific and technical progress in the sphere of material production. Therefore, the section on capital construction in the temporary statute points out that the state order being established for customers and contractors for commissioning the most important production capacities and social projects through state centralized capital investments can be supplemented at the suggestion of enterprises, local soviets, ministries and departments by means of their capital and other sources of financing. This is extremely important. The point is that social re-orientation of the economy, product quality and the rates of scientific and technical progress depend on how competently and efficiently the investment capital earned by enterprises and organizations and also formed by the state enter economic circulation.

One also must not forget the following quite strict condition of functioning of the national economy in 1989: This very large investment capital can be turned into real capital investments only if all measures, without exception, for resource-saving are ensured, and also if state orders and plans of enterprises for deliveries of materials and equipment are fulfilled.

[Question] What effect has intensification of the social orientation of the economy in accordance with the decisions of the All-Union Party Conference had on the construction program?

[Answer] The 1989 construction program in this area is extremely intensive. It is characterized by a rapid growth of appropriations in many directions: developing a material base in the social sphere; resolving the food problem; accelerating technical re-equipment of light industry; developing processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex; strengthening capacities for producing technically complex consumer goods; accelerating road construction in the Non-Chernozem zone of the RSFSR; and other goals of social re-orientation of the economy. Nonproduction construction in 1989 will assume about 47 percent of the volume of construction and installation work for the national economy.

The social orientation is also reflected fairly clearly in production construction. Here is what an analysis of a list of construction projects at which production capacities for state order are being created shows. The list was submitted as part of the draft 1989 state plan. Construction projects where capacities for producing consumer goods, processing, transporting and storing agricultural products, projects for preservation of nature and for developing a base of building materials will comprise 60 percent of their total amount. Construction projects creating capacities for producing means of production account for 31 percent; those for developing a base for science, technology and the interbranch scientific and technical complex account for 9 percent.

It is understandable that under these condition it is important to move forward appreciably in carrying out two fundamental tasks on which the plans of social construction depend. First, it is necessary to increase substantially the efficiency of production capital investments. Second, it is necessary to break the undesirable process of an increase in incomplete construction. It is impossible to become richer by "burying" assets, materials and equipment in "incomplete work."

I would underscore the need for interrelated resolution of all these problems: we cannot redistribute capital investments into the social sphere without increasing their effectiveness in the production sphere; we cannot turn financial resources into real capital investments without resource-saving everywhere, without stepping up the rates of producing quality building materials and modern equipment, without preparing effective design decisions, and without developing the capacities of construction organizations.

The lack of any of these fundamental elements in the complex chain of the investment process results in irreplaceable losses and disruptions. Therefore, using the possibilities of the new economic mechanism, initiative, enterprise of enterprises and construction organizations, linking all elements of the investment cycle into a single effective process which is capable of ensuring appreciable progressive structural changes in economic development, becomes one of the most important tasks of the state plan for 1989 and subsequent years.

Why do I focus attention on this? Because our possibilities of creating in a relatively short time the necessary range of social installations, ending the increase in the portion of physically obsolete assets, eliminating the underdevelopment in many directions of science and technology, and making progressive structural changes in the economy basically depend on construction and on all participants in the investment cycle. This also assumes a decisive limitation of the front of unjustified, previously prestigious construction and overcoming the tendency towards building up "incomplete work."

[Question] What is the structure of the 1989 state plan? What does it look like, if it can be put this way?

[Answer] The 1989 state plan included four sections. They have a different degree of being directive in nature, perform various functions, and at the same time are interlinked by the unity of the planned policy of the state.

The first section of the state plan is not disseminated to the enterprises and includes consolidated social and general economic indicators, and also accounting plan material for foreign economic activities of the state, its financial balance, and principal parameters of development of national economic complexes and the union republics. This section makes it possible to see on a state-wide level all the economic proportions, interrelations and results of development of the national economy, and to take into account the tasks of each complex and each union republic.

The second section of the plan contains only the accounting socio-economic indicators, as control figures, called for by the USSR Law on State Enterprise (Association). They are disseminated to the enterprises as economic reference points through the USSR ministries and departments and the Councils of Ministers of the union republics. These reference points give the enterprises information on the possibilities of creating zones of stable operation in a unified national economic complex, and also general social and scientific and technical information as it applies to their activities.

The third section is the state order. The number of indicators for product delivery has been reduced to one-sixth in the 1989 state order compared to the current year.

The fourth section contains limits of centrally distributed investment, material, food, forage, and import resources. It has also decreased in proportion to the reduction of the state order.

Thus, the 1989 state plan was brought into accord with the requirements of the new economic mechanism during the transition period at the end of the current 5-year plan. The work of the national economy under these conditions will require a great deal of organization from all levels of management and a high degree of responsibility from labor collectives for observing the economic ties.

Further Examines Sectorial Tasks

18200008 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 37, Sep 88 pp 4-5

[Article by L.B. Bid, USSR Gosplan deputy chairman: "1989 Plan: Reference Points for Growth"]

[Text] In issue No 36, we published an interview with L.B. Bid, USSR Gosplan deputy chairman, which discussed work on the draft 1989 plan and its main particular features and tasks. Immediately after the issue was published, the editorial board began receiving numerous requests from readers to continue the discussion on development of the Soviet economy next year and to disclose in more detail the content of the state order in the most important national economic complexes and sectors of the economy. In response to these requests, L.B. Bid continues his discussion on what tasks the nation's economy must carry out next year and what role the state order is given in this.

The Social Complex [subhead]

The most crucial economic and political tasks next year will face the labor collectives of sectors of the social complex. In accordance with the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it is necessary to take a major step in increasing the output of foodstuffs, primarily on the basis of increasing the level of preservation of the harvest and intensifying processing of feedstock, in producing industrial consumer goods, and in rendering paid services to the people.

Consumer Goods [subhead]

Conditions for surpassing considerably the 5-year plan targets are being created in the production of food and non-food consumer goods in 1989. This line is reinforced by the state order for necessary equipment and materials, by increasing material incentives, and by centralized resources. There is virtually no sector in the national economy that is not involved in the production of consumer goods and in the rendering of services to the population. Only the efforts of all the people to increase production of foodstuffs and commodities, and switching attention from distribution relations and import purchases to production of high-quality domestic goods in the necessary quantities, will make it possible to achieve in a short period of time the necessary correspondence between monetary resources and commodity flows.

The development of light industry capacities on a new basis remains as before a pivotal problem in the social complex. Sufficiently powerful forces of the defense and

machine-building complexes are now involved in technical re-equipment of the sector. Major currency resources have been allocated to purchase efficient equipment on the world market for light industry, processing facilities of the agro-industrial complex, trade and public catering.

In the system of the USSR Ministry of the Light Industry, only 50 percent of the enterprises will receive state orders. Orders have been issued for production of goods for children, young people and the elderly by generalized groups: knitted wear, hosiery, clothing industry products, and footwear. In the total volume of production of knitted wear, the percentage of goods for children which is covered by the state order is 57 percent, 48 percent for footwear, and 32 percent for clothing industry products. But for certain specialized enterprises the state order will encompass an even more significant portion of the program. Special attention at enterprises of this sector will be directed at renovation and expansion of the assortment of goods and the output of improved and new types of products. Thus, new and improved types of woolen fabrics for children will comprise 25 percent of the production volume. The output of cloth for school uniforms, footwear using soft synthetic leather with bright and light colors, and other updated goods will be increased.

Other sectors of industry are also expanding the output of goods for the people. Production of non-food commodities—not counting light industry products—will substantially surpass the indicators of the 5-year plan for 1989. The total value of these products has been included in the state order. Enterprises ensure the products list accumulation of cost volume independently in cooperation with the trading system. The products list state order is established for a limited range of the most important commodities, such as color televisions, washing machines, refrigerators, furniture, vacuum cleaners, wallpaper and certain others.

More complete satisfaction of the population's needs for building materials is envisioned for 1989. Their market funds will increase by 11 percent compared to 1988, including nearly 36 percent for cement, 16 percent for ferrous metal rolled stock, and 20 percent for galvanized sheet steel.

Market funds for the sale of lumber, factory-made wooden homes, and particle and fiber board to the population are planned for this year's level. This is because enterprises of the lumber and wood-processing industry have not completed their technical re-equipment and are still unable to meet the needs of the population and the rapidly growing housing and social and cultural construction in the necessary volumes.

Paid Services [subhead]

An acceleration is envisaged in the development of the services sector. It is planned to increase their volume to 68 billion rubles in 1989, which exceeds the 5-year plan target for this year by 6 billion rubles. Consumer services will increase by nearly 13 percent compared to their level in the current year. There will be a substantial expansion of services for housing construction and repair, transport equipment service and repair, and repair of furniture, household utensils and appliances. In 1989, it is planned to develop at priority rates services related to rest and recuperation, and interesting and active leisure time. Services of health resorts, sanitation organizations, institutions of physical culture and sport, cost-accounting treatment institutions, and travel bureaus will increase. Work will continue for further development of cooperatives and individual enterprise in the services sector.

As we know, major steps were approved by the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum to increase production and accelerate satiating the market with consumer goods and services. These measures will be actively implemented beginning in 1989 and will develop fully in 1990 and be the core of the next 13th Five-Year Plan. They have been consolidated and turned into a specific program of an entire system of detailed resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers for increasing production and accelerating satiation of the market with consumer goods, for effective measures to improve commercial consumer services, for radically restructuring the paid services sector, and for increasing production and improving the supply of foodstuffs for the population in the concluding stage of the current 5-year plan. Major additional steps have been prepared to increase the economic concern of enterprises for increasing the production of non-food consumer goods, which is talked about in the last section of the Temporary Statute on Formation of State Orders. A number of other measures have also been prepared.

Construction of Houses and Projects of the Social and Cultural Sphere [subhead]

The description of the social re-orientation of the economy which has begun would be far from complete if we dwell only on the indicators of the social complex. Thus, in 1989 the construction complex ensures development of about 47 percent of the total volume of construction and installation work throughout the country at projects of the non-production sphere. Priority in construction is given to housing being built through funds of the state, enterprises, cooperatives and the population. In the draft 1989 plan, taking into account resource procurement, capabilities of builders and the proposals of local soviets, summarized by the union republic councils of ministers, it is planned that the volume of total area of housing to be put in operation will be 134 million square meters. This is almost 13 million square meters more than earlier envisioned for this year. In 1989, there should also be an appreciable overfulfillment of the targets of

the 5-year plan and an increase compared to 1988 for putting into operation child pre-school institutions, general-education schools, and out-patient clinics.

In developing the draft 1989 plan, special attention was given to developing the social sphere in the rural areas.

Conditions are being created for significantly increasing the volume of capital repair of the available state housing. In 1989, about 68 million square meters of housing will be turned over for operation after capital repair. The material and technical base of higher and secondary special education will be developed and strengthened.

All construction organizations will give priority to including in their plans work on projects of the social and cultural sphere. At the same time, they are forming about 25 percent of their production plan for 1989 independently on the basis of direct contracts with enterprises and client-organizations. The volume of construction and installation work on production projects, at which capacities are being built in accordance with the state order, comprises about 23 percent of the overall load of the basic contract construction ministries.

From the very first years of the current 5-year plan the construction complex began to play a decisive role in social re-orientation of the economy, and is supported by the union republic councils of ministers and local soviets. But the rate of development for all social directions is still insufficient; the capacities of the construction base in many regions of the country are also insufficient. Today the principal efforts of the builders must be concentrated here.

Agro-Industrial Complex Products [subhead]

In the concluding stage of the current 5-year plan, as well as throughout the 13th Five-Year Plan, the agro-industrial complex in its broad sense—including its largest attendant sectors, subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations, the cooperative and individual sectors—will be at the center of attention of central planning agencies. The draft 1989 plan calls for implementation of party guidelines and state decisions on improving the population's food supply. We have to utilize more fully the potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and the capabilities of subsidiary farms of enterprises, organizations and institutions, individual farms of citizens, and collective horticulture and truck-farming. Widespread development of long-term lease contract must become one of the paths to stable growth of production of agricultural products.

Taking into account the development of all agricultural production, the total volume of output of foodstuffs in 1989 should appreciably surpass the 5-year plan targets for the year.

It is envisioned that the entire increase in production output from livestock raising will be ensured by increasing the productivity of cattle and poultry. It is planned for kolkhozes and sovkhozes to expand areas under grain crops which are grown using intensive methods, introduce new high-yield varieties and hybrids, and improve farming systems.

The state order for the processing industry of the agro-industrial complex is substantially reduced compared to the current year. Many enterprises of the meat and dairy, mixed feed, and food industries will not have state orders at all; they will form their own plans in accordance with concluded contracts. The state order in 1989 will encompass the entire production program of sugar and tea mills, creameries, gin mills, flax processing mills, and also enterprises producing baby food.

The 1989 plan contains major steps to strengthen the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex, above all its processing sectors and facilities ensuring the preservation of agricultural products.

The Fuel and Energy Complex [subhead]

Sufficiently intense tasks face enterprises and associations of the fuel and energy complex in 1989. Because of the economic importance of oil, the state order for its production has been established for the entire capacity of the sector; for gas it will comprise 90 percent of the volume of its production being delivered outside the sector; and for coal the state order includes only that portion which is supplied to the population, for coking and for export—this is less than 38 percent of total production.

A state order has not been established for production of electrical power and thermal energy. All questions are resolved locally based on the economic contracts of consumers with the appropriate power systems.

The enterprises and associations have been given a very important task for increasing production. In 1989 they are to produce in excess of the 5-year plan targets for this year 8 million tons of oil with gas condensate, 20 billion cubic meters of natural gas, and 16 million tons of coal. This will make it possible to strengthen exports, which must provide resources for resolving a number of problems, including social problems, and also to provide organic fuel for thermal electric power plants to compensate for those losses in electrical power which are now taking place in connection with the reduction of its production at nuclear power plants.

The stability of economic development in 1989 and subsequent years largely depends on the work of the fuel and energy complex. Its burden is increasing, since the energy conservation processes in the national economy have not reached a sufficient level, and the structure of Soviet exports has not yet been fundamentally restructured to shipments of goods of in-depth processing of

raw materials and of the processing industry. For the time being, the state is forced to invest quite considerable resources in this complex, and provide incentives for additional production of oil, gas and coal. Incidentally, this vividly shows how strongly all the processes of structural reorganization of the economy are linked.

The Metallurgical Complex [subhead]

Serious tasks for the structural reorganization of production face the country's metallurgical complex, which has begun to reach a new level of work. Since 1986, production of cast iron, coke and iron ore has virtually stabilized. The comprehensive use of mineral raw materials is increasing. A minimal increase in production has been achieved now just on the basis of gathered metal scrap and through efficient electrothermal and oxygen-converter processes. Major measures are being accomplished to introduce continuous casting of steel and other processes which increase the output and improve the strength characteristics of the finished metal products.

For 1989, the increase in deliveries of finished rolled stock under the state order outside the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy will be 1.7 percent compared to 1988. Deliveries of highly efficient metal products will increase considerably more.

The products list state order for metallurgical plants has not yet reached an optimum level and is somewhat overloaded. Therefore, the USSR Gosplan, jointly with the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and leading metallurgical enterprises, is continuing to work on questions of forming the state order in order to create conditions for developing independence of enterprises and to ensure a balancing of the needs of the national economy and exports according to inter-state agreements.

In recent years a valid correlation has been found in the technical modernization of the finish process stages in ferrous metallurgy, structural improvement of steel production, and construction of mini-plants in accordance with the requirements of consumers of specific regions. But these progressive directions are being realized too slowly. This is perhaps the chief shortcoming today in the development of ferrous metallurgy. There is a serious lag in putting continuous casting machinery into operation which would provide great savings in steel when producing finished rolled stock. Only 7 of these machines will be put into operation in 1986-1988, but the 5-year plan called for 15 of them.

Construction of capacities ensuring a sharp reduction in the import of high-quality types of metal products is lagging behind. Both the machine builders, delaying the manufacture of the latest metallurgical equipment, and the builders are at fault. It is perfectly obvious that only accelerated modernization of the outdated production potential in ferrous metallurgy will make it possible, with stabilization of the gross production of rolled stock, to increase continually the output of its progressive types and put an end completely to imports of metal products.

The Chemical and Timber Complex [subhead]

A more complicated situation is taking shape in the chemical and timber complex. Here there are unlimited and quite effective raw material resources. However, enterprises of the chemical and wood processing industries, which must create conditions for radical structural changes in consumption of construction materials and production of consumer goods, are not yet meeting the needs of the national economy and exports for virtually any of the products being produced. The lag behind demands has a tendency to increase in connection with the rapid growth in demand for advanced materials, chemical fibers and dyes. Subsectors, such as the furniture subsector, for production of high-strength plastics, modern chemical filaments and fibers have become a weak point today in the country's social and economic development. Of course, this problem has been around for a while, and requires substantial efforts for its resolution, and purposefulness in overcoming the difficulties. That is why the 1989 plan is oriented toward active development of the processing capacities in the wood processing and chemical industries, although there are many questions here, including ecological ones. But the latest chemical processes throughout the world today are being combined with the requirements to protect the environment. And in the localities we must look at what production processes have been set up in the new enterprises, but not reject them from the start.

Resolving the problems of developing the complex goes beyond 1989. It encompasses the work of the entire 13th Five-Year Plan, when very major changes will be made both in chemistry and in wood processing, through our own resources and also through developing production on a mutually beneficial basis with foreign partners. The ministries of this complex and the USSR Gosplan have outlined a precise program of actions which must be steadily implemented if we want to reorganize the structure of construction materials.

The modern economy of any developed country cannot develop effectively without large resources created on the basis of in-depth chemical, petrochemical and wood chemical processing of raw materials. Unfortunately, we have seriously lagged behind in putting new capacities into operation during the 3 years of the current 5-year plan, in all the directions of development of this complex. In the years remaining we must do everything possible to increase its production potential and create the necessary beginning for the 13th Five-Year Plan.

The Machine-Building Complex [subhead]

The state order for enterprises of this complex has changed fundamentally compared to the current year. It calls for delivery of only the most important advanced

types of machines, equipment, means of automation and computer equipment ensuring acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the national economy, the needs of CEMA member countries and defense, and fulfillment of inter-governmental agreements.

The state order's percentage of the total volume of products varies from 1 to 40 percent at enterprises of power-, material-handling- and printing- machine building. It is somewhat higher where metallurgical equipment, diesels and diesel engines are produced—up to 50 percent.

In machine-tool building, the state order includes only 10 of the most important advanced types of products, and on the whole comprises about 15 percent, although at 6 enterprises it encompasses up to 50 percent of the production program.

In instrument building, the percentage of the state order averages approximately 41 percent of the total output of products. However, at enterprises of the clock industry, whose products are included in the volume of deliveries of non-food consumer goods, and at those producing medical equipment, the state order comprises about 80 percent of their production program.

In the automotive industry, state orders are issued for deliveries of new, highly efficient and special equipment. On the whole, in this sector the state order encompasses roughly 21 percent of the total product output. At enterprises manufacturing trucks, it will be 25-40 percent.

Delivery of passenger cars from the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant are not included at all in the state order; it will work independently with the USSR Ministry of Trade to determine market funds for passenger cars. Only 22 of the 220 enterprises of the automotive industry receive state orders for deliveries of technical and production products, the rest only for delivery of consumer goods and services.

The state order for agricultural machine building is given for 9 percent of the overall volume of production. Only at 3 enterprises specializing in production of consumer goods such as small tractors and mechanics' tools will the percentage of state orders be 75 to 95 percent.

In construction-, road-, and communal-machine building, state orders are established only for deliveries of modern, highly efficient equipment for the construction complex, the building materials industry, and urban and municipal services. On the whole, in this sector the state order encompasses about 30 percent of the total product output. But at 11 enterprises involved in supplying these products, it will account for 50 to 70 percent of the production program, and 70 to 90 percent at 10 enterprises.

In chemical and petroleum machine building, the state order's percentage in the total product output will be about 27 percent, and in the electrical engineering industry it will be 28 percent. But there also will be enterprises in these sectors which have a larger percentage of state orders in their production program.

In forming the sections of the state plan for machine building, the USSR Gosplan proceeded from the need to consolidate those positive changes which were noted in the first half of the 5-year plan; most importantly, it sought to overcome as much as possible the significant lag in fulfilling the tasks set by the 5-year plan. The chief shortcoming is that the targets for putting into production the most important types of new-generation machines and equipment were 82-85 percent fulfilled in 1986-1987. During 3 years of the 5-year plan, consumers will receive approximately 1 billion rubles less of the newest equipment.

As before, the reliability and competitiveness of a large product list of equipment being produced remain low, while its material consumption is high. Machine builders also are not coping with resource-saving tasks everywhere, including saving ferrous metal rolled stock. The solution is in technical re-equipment in all directions. Today this is already a trivial truth. But only 9 of the 12 machine building capacities—according to the products list of the state order—which were supposed to be put into operation in the first half of 1988 have been commissioned. Priority sectors of machine building, particularly machine-tool building, are not gaining the planned priority rates of development compared to other sectors.

According to preliminary estimates, in 3 years of the current 5-year plan, the machine-building complex will owe the national economy 2 billion rubles worth of products, which affects fulfillment of the Energy and Food Program, as well as technical re-equipment of the metallurgical, chemical, wood processing and transportation industries. Therefore, in 1989 the most serious attention at enterprises of the complex must be given to questions of increasing the output of the newest equipment for base sectors of the national economy. The point is, these sectors ensure the stability of all sectors of the Soviet economy, play a significant role in fuel and raw material support of CEMA member countries, and through the export of their products make a substantial contribution to the country's stocks of food.

The Transportation Complex [subhead]

We must also mention the sufficiently complex tasks facing the country's transportation system in 1989 which, having improved the economic parameters of economic activities, lost considerable ground in the area of traffic safety equipment.

All enterprises of transportation and communications in 1989 will work on a full cost-accounting basis with expanded independence in developing contract relations between transportation organizations and shipping enterprises. Therefore, the number of state plan indicators have been decreased, and its percentage in the volume of freight shipments for the USSR Ministry of Railways will be approximately 60 percent. For the maritime fleet the state order has been given for shipping freight to regions of the Far North. A state order has been established for passenger transport for civil aviation and rail transportation at 100 percent of their capacity. State orders have not been established for motor vehicle, river and pipeline transport.

Limits and Wholesale Trading [subhead]

A sufficiently complex situation is taking shape in 1989 with centrally distributed material and technical resources. The product list of material and technical resources centrally distributed by the USSR Gosplan and USSR Gossnab has been reduced substantially in the state plan, which creates a possibility of appreciable movement towards large-scale wholesale trading of means of production. In 1989, more than 5,000 descriptions of goods were distributed centrally based on an extensive state order. But for 1989, it is limited to just 500 descriptions of goods which form the most important national economic resources and ensure meeting priority social needs.

The volume of wholesale trading of technical and production products will reach 115 billion rubles in 1989 and will almost triple compared to the current year's level. The demand for resources not included in the state plan's limits must be met by enterprises independently, through direct ties with suppliers, or based on contracts with territorial agencies of the USSR Gossnab.

As the calculated material balances developed by the USSR Gosplan and USSR Gossnab have shown, the production and delivery of mass-use resources such as oil, gas, coal, ferrous and non-ferrous metal rolled stock, cement and lumber in amounts exceeding those outlined by the 5-year plan for 1989 play quite a significant role in meeting the demands for these resources.

All limits of centrally distributed resources are formed based on the possibilities of overfulfilling the targets of the 5-year plan for their economizing. In calculating the need for ferrous metal rolled stock, for example, it was envisioned that somewhat more than 4 million tons would be saved compared to 1988; for steel pipe the saving should be 0.5 million tons; for cement more than 6 million tons; for lumber 13 million cubic meters; and for fuel about 42 million tons (in standard calculation).

Resource-Saving [subhead]

In 1989 we must free and save 15.4 billion rubles worth of primary raw materials by increasing the level of utilization and involving all types of secondary raw materials in economic circulation. This is 400 million rubles higher than the plan level of 1988. It is planned to increase usage of waste paper to 82 percent, wood waste to 82 percent, broken glass to 87 percent, used petroleum products to 65 percent, and secondary textile materials to 63 percent of the volume of their annual formation. These are very modest figures by standards of developed countries, but we must actively struggle to meet them.

It is planned to meet the entire increase in the national economy's demand for metal products and lumber materials based on saving. This means that the increase in the finished product of machine builders and construction workers is directly linked to the amount of metal, cement and timber saved.

The increase in demand for fuel and energy resources is being 76 percent satisfied, taking into account the decrease in their proportionate expenditures and substitution of organic fuel by nuclear and hydraulic power. For example, motor fuel resources for all sectors of the national economy are formed based on increasing the intensity of oil refining to 63 percent against 61.6 percent under the current year's plan, and replacing petroleum motor fuel with compressed and liquified gas in the amount of at least 2 million tons. Everywhere we must remove from operation written-off motor transport with an excessive consumption of fuel, or which are kept in the fleet only to receive gasoline. It is envisioned to reduce the use of light petroleum products as boiler and furnace fuel.

All these calculated date, on the basis of which specific material limits are formed, vividly indicate the intensity in supporting the created resource-intensive production potential. It is extremely necessary to direct the very large investment resources concentrated in the hands of enterprises, above all, toward technological modernization of production.

Only in this way can we ensure a high-quality product, reduce its resource-intensiveness, and considerably increase the ecological cleanliness of all production processes.

The intense work on balancing the main proportions of the state plan continues. The USSR Gosplan is working jointly with other central agencies to resolve problems of the financial balancing of the economy and the buildup of the production volumes of goods and services. Questions of the currency balancing of foreign economic ties, and tasks in the stable material and technical support of the sectors of the national economy, are being defined more precisely. There are many problems to solve in establishing economic ties enterprises between themselves, and with the USSR Ministry of Trade and the USSR Gosplan on concluding economic contracts. In early August, standing agencies of the USSR Council of

Ministers for managing national economic complexes, and the union republic councils of ministers and ministries began working on this. Work is nearing completion at enterprises on plans based on the state orders and the limits passed to them. Intense work on all these problems has begun in the government, and it must be continued in the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and at the regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. All this work will make it possible to find additional reserves for balanced development of the economy under the new conditions of economic management and its active social re-orientation.

Advance preparations for 1989, and enterprises' successful fulfillment of their plans, will determine the possibilities for a successful conclusion of the 12th Five-Year Plan, especially according to its social parameters.

More Output From Subsidiary Farms Urged

PM1810114188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "A Reliable Backup"; subtitled: "That Is What Enterprise Subsidiary Farms Can Be"]

[Text] There was no poorer farm in Shebekinskiy Rayon, Belgorod Oblast than the "Bolshevik" kolkhoz. Stagnation and losses were this collective's constant companions. Who knows what its fate would have been if the "Energomash" plant had not taken the kolkhoz under its wing. The enterprise invested some R15 million in the new subsidiary farm. A lot? But the result is noticeable. The situation soon improved, milk and meat production increased, and their cost fell. The plant's farming operations became profitable. And additional items appeared on city dwellers' tables.

Today there are more than 21,000 farming operations in the country. More than 5 million hectares of fields have been allocated to them. Last year 1.3 million tonnes of grain, 423,000 tonnes of potatoes, and 375,000 tonnes of vegetables were harvested from subsidiary farms. Hence the working people had extra to eat to the tune of almost 400,000 tonnes of meat, around 700,000 tonnes of milk, and 440,000 eggs. These figures show convincingly that plant farming operations are capable of achieving a great deal. The more so as its workers are equipped, like rural workers, with tractors, combines, and cars. The state encourages initiative in every way possible, and stimulates food production with subsidiary farms. Last year alone R662 million of capital investment was channeled into developing these farms.

And the return? Last year more than R1.4 billion of output was sold. Around the country the farming operations obtained an average of 6kg of meat, 9kg of milk, and the same amount of potatoes and vegetables per enterprise worker. At first glance this is not very much. But we should not forget that it is a question of "extra ingredients," additional output. In addition, subsidiary farms of the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, and the Ministry of the Coal Industry produce significantly more output per worker, largely satisfying the working collectives' demands from their own output, so to speak. The picture is different as regards the farming operations of the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, and the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems. They have no noticeable influence on providing their workers with foodstuffs.

Let us be frank: Some leaders believe that setting up farming operations is an unnecessary undertaking. Our business, they say, is to smelt steel, manufacture machine tools, and construct housing. It's the peasants' job to fatten calves and milk cows. This seems reasonable. But if the state of affairs is such that the agro-industrial sector is still not coping with its tasks? Largely because industry has not assisted the countryside much, and for many years the strong current of cadres flowed from the countryside to the city. So the time has come to repay the debts. When the position in the agro-industrial complex stabilizes, it is possible that the need for subsidiary farms will not be so acute.

All the same, many plants, combines, and factories are in no hurry to acquire subsidiary farms. There are particularly few of them in the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, and the defense industry systems. This is also connected, incidentally, with the fact that local soviets do not allot sufficient land for farming operations. Some subsidiary farms have no fields. How can vegetable and feed production be increased there? They can't help tending toward the idea of bringing in forage from outside.

Production efficiency on many subsidiary farms is low. And it is not just a question of their small size, which is frequently cited to justify the insignificant return. The standard of production is low, and labor is poorly organized. The animals are usually kept in hastily adapted facilities designed for manual operation. The productivity of livestock is obviously insufficient, and yields and weight gains are not great. Less grain, vegetables, and potatoes are harvested per hectare, as a rule, than on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is true that contrasts can be seen. There are livestock units with an annual yield of 4,000kg of milk per cow, whereas in some places they only manage 1,000 kgs.

All kinds of confusion means that subsidiary farms' labor and resource expenditure on output production is higher than on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. As a result many farms produce output at a loss. But is this inevitable? In those places where the organization, scale, and specialization of farming operations have been approached sensibly and all their work is based on economic accountability and self-financing, the farms work profitably and steadily. Unfortunately, they are still few in number.

The garden by the factory gate works directly at resolving the most important task of providing the country with foodstuffs as soon as possible. Proper attention must be given to it. Party organs are expected to examine the potential for every enterprise, rayon, and city and every oblast and republic to increase food resources. It is intolerable to accept a low return from, and unjustified expenditure on, farming operations. As a rule, enterprises have the resources to put subsidiary farms in order. But a barrier needs to be erected against complacency and bad management. And then the working people's diet will be more varied and richer.

Roundtable Debates Economic Reform Restraints

PM1810133388 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 October 1988 Second Edition carries on page 2 under the headline "Arguments for Restructuring. New Forms of Economic Managements and Old Impediments on the Agenda" a 3,500-word PRAVDA and Central Television roundtable "Business Club" discussion chaired by D. Valovoy and V. Goncharov on some results of the new economic opportunities available in the Soviet Union. After discussing their successes, enterprise directors complain about various aspects of the reforms that are not working smoothly as yet—the continuing importance of expenditure indicators and the falling production of cheap goods: "We want to avoid the pressure imposed by rates, various restrictions, and the notorious problem of gross production, we want to be really independent." The discussion is accompanied by the following "Conclusions and Suggestions":

"The radical economic reform has awoken the initiative of labor collectives and brought to life new economic management methods. That was the unanimous opinion of the participants in the 'Business Club' session. Whereas before economic accountability [khozraschet] had essentially been a matter for the 'top flight,' with only economic managers and economists privy to its secrets, now it has made itself known at team, section, and shop level. Labor collectives everywhere are switching to contacts and leases. Production cooperatives are being set up. People are becoming the masters of production in reality rather than in words.

"Enterprises' independence is also being strengthened. Today many of them have increased their output and are achieving high economic results. And this is gratifying. However, as the participants in the 'Business Club' session noted, the old economic shackles have still not been totally thrown off. Initiative continually encounters artificial obstacles or even blank walls. What is worrying them above all?

"Lack of Balance in Plans [subhead]

"It was noted that the USSR Gosplan had been prohibited from submitting unbalanced economic and social development programs for examination by the government. However, at enterprise level the same discrepancy between targets and material and technical supply continues to exist. Next year for many labor collectives this discrepancy will not diminish but will, on the contrary, increase, since certain enterprises producing output that does not form part of state orders have independently opted to cut production. In the absence of wholesale trade and competition this could lead to a reduction in the production of important goods. Thus, one of the main advantages of socialism—the balanced, proportional development of the entire national economy—is undermined.

"The 'Business Club' session participants believe that production cooperatives should be involved more boldly in the fulfillment of state orders—particularly in housing construction—and should be supplied with the necessary materials. They would then be able to work at state prices.

"Former Orientation Toward Expenditure Indicators [subhead]

"How many contracts have foundered on the gross production system! Yet this system is still alive and well. Gross production has been turned into an accounting measure on paper. But economic growth rates, 5-year plan fulfillment levels, and, at enterprises, even labor productivity—the main indicator of the formation of funds—continue to be based on it. The level of fulfillment of economic contracts is also assessed in rubles, even though it has repeatedly been stated at PRAVDA 'Business Clubs' that amounts of orders fulfilled should be related to the number accepted for execution—basing accounts on 'units produced,' so to speak.

"Attachment of Wage Funds to Gross Production [subhead]

"The 'Business Club' participants criticized for the umpteenth time the system of shaping wage funds at enterprises—a system which is firmly bound up with the expenditure economy. This impels economic managers to 'erode' cheap goods and produce more expensive output.

"Independence of Enterprises and Their Leaders Still Circumscribed [subhead]

"The 'Business Club' session cited many examples of ministries and higher managerial superstructures continuing to try to manage labor collectives, hamstringing their independence. We must make 'superior authorities' actually, rather than just verbally, responsible in an economically accountable way for uneconomic coercion measures and the damage they wreak.

"The 'Business Club' participants believe that the above problems should be resolved in the current transitional period. The country's economy must enter e 13th 5-Year Plan without any old impediments. New forms of economic management should sweep them off the road of restructuring and renewal."

Scientific

AIDS Death Incites Fear, Exposes Problems

LD1410133688 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] The first death of an AIDS victim in the Soviet Union is sending tremors of fear across the nation. People these days are asking whether the real scale of the disease in this country is not much greater than it was officially known. More from our correspondent Irene Solobsova.

[Solobsova] A 29-year-old woman reported to have been a prostitute who contracted the disease from an African male died in a hospital in Leningrad in early September. Doctors said that by the time she was hospitalized she had lost about 12 kilos, which amounts to 42 pounds, and developed clear signs of pneumonia, chronic (?tonsillitis), and had a severely enfeebled immune system. Moscow epidemiologists were angered by the fact that clear AIDS symptoms failed to alert her doctor who made the wrong diagnosis and said had she been treated earlier she might not be dead now. Vadim Pokrovskiy, who heads AIDS research in this country, believes it wasn't just a mistake.

[Begin Pokrovskiy recording in Russian fading into English translation] This inefficiency is the result of a general mood of self-complacency. People are used to thinking AIDS exists somewhere out there because the number of identified AIDS carriers in this country is so small. But the disease is very much here and we must act quickly if we don't want to catch up with the countries where it is rampant. [end recording]

So far, 83 AIDS virus carriers have been identified, and one person who is believed to have brought the disease into the country developed the disease. But unofficial estimates put it at 1,000 or more. The recent death in Leningrad suggested other people may have been wrongly diagnosed. Some doctors are now pressing for mandatory tests for hospital patients across the board, a task which is now unfeasible because of the shortage of screening facilities. The medical profession is looking for ways to block the loopholes for the killer disease and maybe stiffen the existing control measures. Today the entire nation's blood supply has been screened. Mandatory tests have been introduced for foreigners coming to the Soviet Union for over 3 months and Soviets who have been away for longer than a month. Under the legislation passed last year anyone can be summoned for the AIDS test if necessary. But sadly these measures just hamper the epidemic. This year the number of carriers doubled. A network of AIDS testing labs has been set up, some of them working on the basis of anonymity, others not. Dr Vadim Pokrovskiy is catagoric in his view of anonymity.

[Begin Pokrovskiy recording in Russian fading into English translation] This is the most effective method because anyone who is known to be infected with the virus is subjected to discrimination in one way or other. People have been fired from jobs. They have been literally ostracized. Other potential AIDS victims become turned (?off). They stop coming to the doctor and we fail to check the spread of the disease. [end recording]

Alienation toward AIDS victims in many people's minds has been associated with gays, prostitutes, and drug addicts, thought to be the chief carriers of the disease. Following the recent death in Leningrad some of the papers urged registration of all the drug addicts and gays. The problem is, however, that hitting the gay community, the disease quickly found a way to heterosexuals, as most gays in this country are believed to have sexual contacts with women. In a country where you don't openly admit to being a gay, women usually know nothing. That's why heterosexuals are now as much in danger. So what's the way out? Use condoms. This last advice however is not always easy to follow. Yevgeniy Chazov, Soviet minister of health, made no bones about calling condoms problem number one.

[Begin Chazov recording in Russian fading into English translation] Let's be straight about it, the problem has not been solved. This year the number of condoms produced by our industry was five times smaller than needed. [end recording]

(?Alone he) knew that AIDS has been registered not only in big cities but in smaller towns and even in villages. While the industry is trying to cope with the shortage medical people are seeking ways to stop the disease where it is now.

Again Dr Vadim Pokrovskiy:

[Begin Pokrovskiy recording in Russian fading into English translation] I think that effective medicine will be found quicker than a vaccine. The more we know about the nature of the disease the slimmer the hopes for developing a vaccine. [end recording]

But most effective in our country will be a widescale education campaign that will teach people how to protect themselves against the disease, and this is our major goal. If we reach it the epidemic will be prevented.

Nuclear Safety Margins Ensured on 'Cosmos-1900'

LD1710125088 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—TASS science news analyst Nikolay Zheleznov writes:

A stride forward has been made in the Soviet Union in broadening the sphere of application of nuclear power plants in outer space. Soviet specialists have analysed the successful operation carried out on October 1 to bring to a safe orbit the fuel core of the nuclear power plant of the Cosmos-1,900 satellite. They arrived at a conclusion that the success of the operation makes it possible to substantially reduce restrictions on the scope of application of nuclear plants in outer space. Radiation safety conditions endorsed by the U.N. committee on the peaceful uses of outer space are ensured, and with a margin, too.

The Soviet Union was the first to use nuclear power plants on spacecraft. However, not everything was smooth in this respect. Ten years ago after the Cosmos-954 satellite broke up when entering the dense layers of the atmosphere, radioactive fragments of the fuel core and of reactor shell were found on Canadian territory. Soviet specialists took additional safety measures and in 1983 successfully tested by means of the Cosmos-1,402 satellite a method for the atomisation of reactor materials following the separation of the reactor's fuel core during the aerodynamic heating in the earth's atmosphere. Measurements showed that the fallout of particles after burning creates safe dose borden which does not exceed the limits permitted by the international commission for radiological protection (0.5 rem a year).

At present, there is no doubt about the advisability of the application of nuclear power plants in outer space. Specialists of the Soviet Union, the United States, and France who conduct this work proceed from the assumption that the power capacity of nuclear sources is by several orders higher than that of chemical and solar ones. Their safety is fully guaranteed in operation in high orbits—800-900 km. In that case the period until the moment when a satellite enters the dense layers of the atmosphere is long enough for the decay of radioactive products down to a safe level. When a nuclear power plant is used in low orbits, safety is ensured by transferring the spent power plant to a higher orbit for long stay (approximately 300 years).

In the opinion of one of leading Soviet specialists on power engineering for uses in space, Georgy Gryaznov, Dr. of science (technology), nuclear sources are particularly effective on spacecraft of economic purpose in the implementation of programs which are connected with high energy consumption (up to 500 kilowatts). They can play an important role in interplanetary flights. A nuclear power plant in which the reactor's thermal power is converted into an electrical one (about 15 megawatts) can develop a jet thrust necessary for a space flight to Mars.

Activities on 'Mir' Research Complex Reported

LD1410140488 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the flight control centre:

Another workweek is drawing to an end aboard the research complex Mir.

Under an international programme of astrophysical experiments Roentgen, the crew is completing a cycle of observations of the supernova star in the big Magellanic cloud. Information received with telescopes of the Kvant module showed that hard Roentgen radiation of this unique celestial object decreased 60 per cent in the past nine months of observations. Such a decrease in the radiation flow is a consequence of virtually complete disintegration of radioactive cobalt, an element of stellar matter, which formed at the explosion of the supernova. Under the plan of preparing for a space walkout, the crew checked up serviceability of the systems of spacesuits, equipment, TV and lighting equipment.

Today Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov will undergo another checkup of the cardiovascular system while performing tests with dosed load on the ergometric bike. Registration of physiological parameters is conducted with the multifunctional unit Gamma. These observation are conducted under the supervision of Valeriy Polyakov.

The flight of the Mir complex is going under the set schedule. The cosmonauts are healthy and feel well.

Failure of 'Phobos-1' Mars Probe Explained

LD1310060088 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] At the very beginning of last month there was a breakdown of communications with the Soviet spacecraft Phobos-1, bound for Mars. How will this affect project Phobos as a whole? Here's what we were told about this by Professor Roald Sagdeyev, the director of the Space Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The two Phobos spacecraft are highly sophisticated space robots. During each communication session with them, mission control sent them a set of instructions equivalent to many pages of text. The spacecraft had to carry out these instructions, which are fed into their on-board computers. In reply to these commands the spacecraft sends mission control the results of the various measurements performed by their scientific instruments. But on 1 September one of the two probes launched in the direction of Mars, Phobos-1, failed to respond to repeated radio messages. An analysis of the commands sent to the spacecraft the previous day showed that a letter had been left out in one of the instructions issued to it. The omission of this one letter resulted in a wrong command going out to Phobos-1, a command switching off its attitude control system. Since then, there was a breakdown of communications. The subsequent course of events can only be assumed to have been as follows:

The spacecraft began slowly losing its proper attitude in space, and consequently the solar batteries began receiving less and less energy. Eventually the energy supply dropped to such a level that the spacecraft proved unable to carry out any commands and respond to even powerful radio signals from earth.

Attempts to restore communication with it continued throughout last month from deep space communications centers in the USSR. The attempts continued so long as there was the slightest chance of the batteries turning to face the sun, if only for a time, in the course of the spacecraft's uncontrolled tumbling.

The foreign participants in the project shared our disappointment over the loss of Phobos-1 and were ready to render assistance by activating the global network of space communications at the slightest encouraging sign from the stricken spacecraft.

All hopes for the fulfillment of project Phobos now center on the second spacecraft—Phobos 2. It carries a full set of scientific instruments for studying Mars and its satellite Phobos, including two landers which it planned to place on the surface of Phobos.

But of course, there are losses too. En route to Mars from the earth it was planned to begin studies of the X-ray emission of the sun. Alas, the telescope intended for this work was on board Phobos-1, which is now lost.

In general, this is the first unfortunate setback in Soviet exploration of distant space since the failures in the Mars exploration program in 1973. Perhaps it was this long period without any setbacks that gave rise to a certain complacency. Let's hope this will be a stern lesson from which the proper conclusions will be drawn.

Doubly Efficient TU-204 Airliner Designed

LD1610233388 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] A new passenger airliner has been designed in the Soviet Union. The general designer (Aleksey Klupelev) told journalists the TU-204 plane was intended for servicing routes 35-40,000 km long. [as heard] He said the emphasis was laid on the airliner's performance and safety.

The TU-204 is two times more efficient than other planes operated by the Aeroflot. The designer also reported the plane would undergo flight tests next summer, and in 1990 was to go into operation.

Precipitation Control Project Planned

PM1310160588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Oct 88 p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "Agro-Industrial Complex News": "Under the 'Harvest' Program"]

[Text] Leningrad, 10 Oct—The formation of an agrometeorological expedition was completed today at the A.I. Voyeykov Main Geophysical Observatory. Following the orders of the oblast agro-industrial committee, geophysical scientists will carry out a program of experiments over the northwest agricultural regions from onboard an aircraft—a flying laboratory.

The aim of the work is to artificially regulate the amount of precipitation. By using aerosol reagents that are "fired" into the clouds after calculating wind direction, speed, temperature, and humidity, the authors of the experiment thus undertake to produce rain over a given area. If required they will disperse clouds and rid areas under crop of excess moisture.

The observatory's staffers have for many years now been elaborating methods and systems for exerting an active influence on the weather. While artificially regulating precipitation, the aircraft will also monitor from long range the state of forests and peatbogs. The locality will be ecologically mapped out and the causes of water, land, and air pollution around industrial centers ascertained.